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THE HOPWOOD LIBRARY
Defeat at Detroit

THE Nation

July 3, 1943

Bureaucrat Bites Press

The Sorrows of Elmer Davis

BY I. F. STONE

*

The Negro's Challenge

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

*

The Plot That Took Algiers

BY MICHAEL K. CLARK

*

New Tasks for Trade Unions

BY LAWRENCE ROGIN



In ten more minutes what will you be doing?

IN TEN MORE MINUTES they'll be in action—
American fighters risking life and limb to
conquer one more bridgehead on the road to
freedom.

And in ten more minutes—what will you be
doing to help win this war?

Because it's up to you as much as it's up to
them. Unless you—and all the rest of us at home
—are devoting every spare minute of our time
to fighting this war as civilians, *their* chances
of victory are slim.

Next time you read of an American raid on
enemy positions—with its tragic footnote of lost
planes and ships and men—ask yourself:

"What more can I do today for freedom?"

What *more* can I do tomorrow that will save
the lives of men like this and help them win
the war?" * * *

To help you find *your* place in America's War for
Freedom, the Government has organized the Citi-
zens Service Corps as part of local Defense Coun-
cils. Probably there is one of these Corps operating
now in your community. Give it your full co-oper-
ation. If none exists, help organize one.

Write to this magazine for a free booklet, "You
and the War," telling you what to do and how to
do it. This is *your* war. Help win it. Choose what
you will do now!

EVERY CIVILIAN A FIGHTER

Contributed by the Magazine Publishers of America

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 157

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 3, 1943

NUMBER 1

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The Shape of Things

1 BY OVERRIDING THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF
the Wartime Labor Disputes Bill, Congress has not only
made a reckless attack on labor morale but, at the same
time, has encouraged the unions to abandon their anti-
strike pledge by providing a procedure which positively
encourages the use of the strike weapon. And in the
same week it contributed to labor unrest by turning
down subsidy proposals which offer the last hope of
holding the line on prices. It is hardly surprising that
G. F. Hughes, the well-known contributor to the financial
section of the *New York Times*, should have won-
dered out loud whether enemy agents were feeding
"loco weed" to Congressmen. The only other explana-
tion would seem to be that the "loyal opposition" of
office-hungry Republicans and Roosevelt-hating Demo-
crats is deliberately creating confusion which it hopes
the electors will blame on the Administration. This may
be smart politics but it certainly is a hell of a way to
run a war. In its anxiety to assert itself, no matter what
the cost, Congress paid no attention whatever to the
terms of the President's veto message on the anti-strike
bill. Yet it was couched in moderate terms and expressed
approval of those clauses which authorized the govern-
ment to take over war-plants threatened with labor dis-
putes and to impose sanctions against strikes in such
plants. But Mr. Roosevelt struck hard at section eight of
the bill, which, as he said, "ignores completely labor's
'no-strike' pledge and provides in effect for strike no-
tices and strike ballots." In spite of the passage of the
bill Philip Murray of the C. I. O. and William Green
of the A. F. of L. have loyally renewed this pledge but,
as rising prices undermine existing wage rates, there is
going to be strong pressure inside the unions for resort
to the strike machinery which Congress has authorized.

*

SOME PROPONENTS OF THE BILL DECLARE
that its main object was to "get" John L. Lewis but we
find it hard to think of a set-up more convenient for the
miners' leader. He has ordered his men back to work
for another armistice period and we have no doubt will
be able to prove his innocence if the return to the pits
proceeds more slowly than the urgent demand for pro-
duction requires. Meanwhile, the coal-owners are de-

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nouncing an alleged agreement between the Administration and the U. M. W. for continued government operation of the mines. Apart from an ambiguous statement by Lewis no evidence of such an agreement exists, but the new Labor Disputes Act will make it difficult for the government to relinquish its hold. If it does, all Lewis has to do is give thirty days' notice and arrange with the National Labor Relations Board to supervise a strike ballot. There can be little doubt that the members of the U. M. W. would vote for a walk-out and then the only way of preventing a perfectly legal stoppage of production would be for the government to seize the mines once more. We are not much impressed by Mr. Roosevelt's alternative proposal for drafting strikers but it is, at least, more realistic than the Congressional method of curbing strikes.

*

THE FARM BLOC, REPUBLICANS, AND OTHER groups with economic or political motives for upsetting existing price-control regulations continued to go to town last week with predictions of a severe food shortage if prevailing OPA practices were not reversed. As the conservative *Barron's* points out, "inflation is now being pushed by a powerful coalition in Congress as a *solution*" for the food shortage. Unfortunately for the prophets of despair, the latest official report on crop conditions throughout the country indicates a marked improvement in food prospects. Warm, dry weather in the chief growing regions has greatly improved the chances for both wheat and corn, and the hay harvest, now well begun, has been excellent in many parts of the country. Despite newspaper reports to the effect that farmers were being forced by OPA policies to dump their cattle on the market because of a feed shortage, authentic estimates by the livestock industry point to a surplus of more than 15,000,000 head of cattle by next January—the largest in the country's history. The slaughter of one-half of this surplus is estimated to be enough to supply a normal amount of beef for a year to 200,000,000 persons. Hog supplies are similarly high, and pork production is considerably above last year's level. Undoubtedly, the farmers of the country face difficult days in trying to harvest their crops with an inadequate supply of skilled labor, but nothing in the situation justifies the scare headlines in the opposition press, and certainly nothing justifies opening the gates to the final disaster of inflation.

*

MIDSUMMER IS PAST BUT THE EASTERN FRONT remains stagnant. Has the threat of a second front in the west or south forced Hitler to abandon plans for a new attempt to knock out Russia? Certainly the news points in that direction but if, in fact, Germany has definitely turned to a defensive strategy the need for a new initiative by the United Nations becomes imperative. For Germany could still win victory by means of a

defensive policy if that encouraged the United Nations to slacken their efforts, to refuse to take risks, to wait for a collapse of enemy morale. We cannot be certain that our side is completely immune to war-weariness and, indeed, the recent American news may have suggested to German strategists that, given time, the arsenal of democracy might blow up with exasperation. It is not surprising, then, that Moscow should again be raising the question of a second front and pointing out the dangers of delay. It is hard to believe that the Soviet government has not been fully informed of Anglo-American plans. So this prodding suggests that no definite time has yet been fixed for the beginning of those "amphibious operations of great complexity" of which Winston Churchill spoke in his last speech. But indications are that these operations may be confined to the Mediterranean, with either Sicily or the Greek islands the first target. So far as Western Europe is concerned, the air school of thought is in the ascendancy and it appears that the Summer is to be devoted to an attempt to bomb Germany into surrender. Undoubtedly the terrific hammering of the Ruhr is proving very effective in reducing both German production and morale. But even if this industrial area is wiped off the map, Germany may still be able to carry on unless forced to expend its resources in resisting actual invasion of its fortress.

*

THE FAILURE OF EAMON DE VALERA'S PARTY, the Fianna Fail, to obtain a majority in last week's Irish elections may have far-reaching consequences on the relations between Britain and Eire. Although discontent with De Valera's neutrality policy ostensibly had no influence on the results, an analysis of the returns shows that the voters tended to blame the government for domestic difficulties that grew out of De Valera's foreign policy. The party achieving the most spectacular gains in the election was not the conservative Fine Gael led by William T. Cosgrave, but the Farmers' Party, whose remarkable showing reflected the prevailing dissatisfaction with the effects of isolationism on Eire's agricultural economy. The success of the Labor Party in doubling its representation in the Dail is attributed to the resentment of the workers against the government's policy of pegging wages while the cost of living has soared. It is not yet clear whether De Valera will be forced out as a consequence of his defeat or obtain enough independent support to remain in power. His resignation would be welcome news in London. While there seems little likelihood that even a coalition government embracing all the present opposition groups would abandon neutrality in the war, such a government would undoubtedly seek a basis for closer economic and political relations with Britain. As a minimum, this should bring a check on the espionage activities of the Axis in Eire and possibly a suspension of diplomatic rela-

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tions with the Axis powers. But the long-standing dispute over the status of Ulster remains as a rocky barrier to any final settlement between Eire and Britain.

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THE RUMORS OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN
General Franco and the Spanish Pretender may be untrue or at least premature. But there are many indications that the old British plan of placing Don Juan on the throne has lately been revived with apparent support from the Vatican and certain influential American Catholics. It is not, however, supported by the Spanish people, the majority of whom remain as Republican as they were in 1931, when Don Juan's father was forced from the throne by an overwhelming vote. The suggestion that the United Nations might, through a restoration of the monarchy, secure the friendship of Spain, is hardly impressive. It is not the Monarchists but the common people of Spain who are our allies; it is they who fought for three years against our present enemies while the Monarchists fought on the other side. What is needed in Spain in place of the hated Franco regime is not a discredited dynasty but a government that represents the will of the Spanish people. To restore the throne in Spain would make sense only as part of a general plan to establish reaction in post-war Europe. It could have no other meaning.

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SO LITTLE NEWS HAS COME OUT OF INDIA in recent weeks that the average American is apt to assume that the British have the situation there completely in hand. This, we are assured by competent observers, is far from being the case. While the wave of sabotage—largely unreported in this country—that accompanied Gandhi's hunger strike has died down, India as a whole is still in a ferment of discontent. It is widely predicted that in the event of another hunger strike Britain would be unable to keep the railways operating. The military position of the United Nations in India would thus be seriously endangered. This is of particular concern to the United States since the American troops in India are located several hundred miles from the coast and are completely dependent on a single railway line. Of even greater concern to American strategists is the effect of British Indian policy on United Nations plans for the reconquest of Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. A year ago American troops would have been welcomed in any of these countries; but as a result of America's failure to intercede in India the attitude of native populations has undergone a marked change. No longer is a sharp distinction made between the British and Americans. American landings in any of these countries would have to overcome at least some native resistance. The appointment of General Wavell as Viceroy of India does not indicate any change in British policy. In most

quarters it is felt that only strong intervention by President Roosevelt on the ground of protecting our troops can effect a change in time to aid in the coming United Nations offensive against Japan.

★

THE HEART OF THE NEW REPORT RELEASED by the Kilgore committee lies in its warning that if the Office of War Mobilization displays "the weaknesses of its predecessors and confines itself to the adjudication of personal and agency disputes, it cannot but fail." It might have added that everything one knows of James F. Byrnes, its director, leads one to believe that he will confine himself to this umpiring task among contending agencies. But that will not be enough to achieve what the committee rightly says we need, "a vigorous policy of programming, scheduling, and actively directing the war agencies in the performance of their mutually dependent programs." Instead of moving in that direction, Byrnes is now trying to stop the work of the Kilgore committee and place all investigation of the war program in the hands of one picked committee which the war agencies and departments can control. Unfortunately, while Under Secretary of War Patterson is courageous enough to protest publicly against the lag in war production and the over-confidence and complacency it reflects, he is still letting himself be used by the army-navy bureaucracy to fight the establishment of the kind of over-all agency which alone can end that lag.

★

A FRUITFUL FIELD WOULD HAVE OPENED for our native bigots, alien-baiters, and witch-hunters had the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the government's effort to revoke the citizenship of William Schneiderman. "If, seventeen years after a federal court adjudged him entitled to be a citizen," Justice Rutledge said in a concurring opinion, "that judgment can be nullified and he can be stripped of this most precious right by nothing more than reexamination upon the merits of the very facts the judgment established, no naturalized person's citizenship is or can be secure." Schneiderman would have been penalized for membership in a party to which native Americans may legally belong. Imposition of that penalty would have jeopardized not merely naturalized Communists but any naturalized leftists or trade unionists who might some day seem imperfectly attached to what a Dies considers the spirit of the Constitution. The country owes a debt of gratitude to Wendell Willkie for having argued the case and to Justice Murphy and his colleagues of the majority for having upheld his argument. If a belief in the right of revolution is un-American, then Jefferson and Lincoln—among many others—were un-American.

Defeat at Detroit

THE Axis is losing battles in Europe and the Pacific, but it can console itself with victories recently won in the United States. In Mobile, Los Angeles, Beaumont, and Detroit Americans infected with the spirit of fascism have attacked our fighting forces in the rear, damaging production and, what is far worse, shattering democratic morale. A succession of Detroits could conceivably mean the loss of the war; it would certainly mean the loss of the peace.

It is time for us to clear our minds and hearts of the contradictions that are rotting our moral position and undermining our purpose. We cannot fight fascism abroad while turning a blind eye to fascism at home. We cannot inscribe on our banners: For democracy and a caste system." We cannot liberate oppressed peoples while maintaining the right to oppress our own minorities. As Horace R. Cayton writes in an article on page 10, "There must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoples. . . . In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy."

Most intelligent and socially responsible Americans would give at least lip-service to this sentiment. They would not attempt to defend denial of opportunity, social inequality, exclusion from the polls, or segregation. They know such things are incompatible with democratic ideals, but they shy from the implications of their own moral standards, and like James Boyd, in his article in last week's *Nation*, urge the Negroes not to raise awkward issues, to trust to gradual reform, to take a historical perspective. The alternative, Mr. Boyd suggested, was explosion, and perhaps he would point to the Detroit riots as the kind of incident which an aggressive Negro policy made inevitable.

Mr. Cayton sharply disagrees with Mr. Boyd's arguments, but that does not mean that he or any other responsible Negro leader advocates a policy of violence. He points out that since America is at present deeply concerned with living up to democratic principles, it is the logical moment for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Nor can his claims to justice be abated in order to check hostility, for every improvement in his status provokes reaction from the bigots. Even Mr. Boyd's program of concentration on the economic front is no guaranty against explosions. Indeed, the root of the trouble in Detroit seems to have been largely economic. For there the Negro is working side by side with the white man on equal terms, to the fury of those whose first object in life is "to keep the nigger in his place."

Detroit is a tense, overworked, overcrowded city. It

has experienced a large influx of workers, both white and colored, since the war began. They are earning high wages but finding it difficult to enjoy them, and they are constantly aware of the uncertainty of the future when the war orders cease to pour in. This atmosphere of insecurity has proved favorable to the professional promotion of hatred, and Detroit has become an important center of the Klan as well as the headquarters of Gerald L. K. Smith's anti-Semitic, anti-foreign America First Party and a dozen lesser breeders of social and racial strife. Of course, the outburst of mob violence last week was "spontaneous" in the sense that the time, place, and manner of the outbreak was not controlled by an organized group. But the spirit that inflamed the rioters and led to indiscriminate attacks of Negroes was the result of deliberate propaganda, and if its creators were not directly inspired by the Axis, they were doing its work.

The authorities in Michigan are reported to be launching a sociological study of the causes of the riots. That can do no harm and may do some good in the long run. But if other outbreaks in the near future are to be prevented, the police and the FBI should seek the focal points of infection. The majesty of the law cannot kill prejudice, but it can do much more than has been done in Detroit.

Another urgent necessity is an attempt to instil into the police a realization that it is their duty to protect Negroes as well as whites. Most of the victims of the Detroit riots were Negroes, and so were most of those arrested. When the white mobs ran amok, pulling Negroes from automobiles and street cars, the police seem to have done little to intervene. But when the Negroes began to retaliate on white property, the police were quick to use both night sticks and guns. One picture, published in the *New York Times*, showed a Negro under arrest being hit in the face by a white hoodlum. The two policemen holding his arms appear to be making no move to intervene. It is a striking symbol of uneven-handed justice.

The tendency of the police to take sides—a similar attitude was reported from Los Angeles during the "zoot-suit riots"—naturally encourages the white bullies, while it drives the Negroes to a despairing belief that they must provide their own protection with whatever means are available. Equality before the law is one of the fundamental rights of American citizens which has all too often been honored in the breach, particularly in the case of clashes between Negroes and whites. The Negro cannot afford to remain patient about this denial of justice or the refusal of any of the fundamental rights of a citizen. To remain passive is to accept the status of a second-class American—a phrase which white and colored alike ought to reject as a blasphemous contradiction in terms. Until Americans do so we have no right to say complacently: "We are not as these *Herrenvolk* . . ."

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Coalition Against De Gaulle

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF THIS journal held the position of extreme partisanship for General de Gaulle with which it is sometimes charged, it would applaud every recent move made by the British and Americans in Algiers. For by their intervention in support of General Giraud, and particularly by their insistence on his continued control of the French army in North and West Africa, they have elevated De Gaulle from his position as leader of French resistance to the Axis to a much more exalted role as a leader of French resistance to all foreign domination. Giraud, on the other hand, has become a British-American stooge. And this, as I suggested above, must be very gratifying to people whose Gaullism is stronger than their wish for genuine Allied unity in the common fight against our still powerful and defiant enemies.

But we don't like it. It shows, as Mr. del Vayo points out on a later page, that Allied political strategy is still totally unrelated to the popular desires of this war-torn world. And this means that the two leading democratic powers are losing—if they have not already lost—their claim to popular leadership. Instead of backing representative, aggressive, fighting elements, they continue to maintain in power men whose connections are with the discredited past. Giraud is hardly to blame for the thankless part he now plays. He came to North Africa with the reputation of a disinterested patriot; he lost his reputation in the company of Darlan, Noguès, and other rascals for whose presence the Allied leaders were chiefly responsible. If those leaders had wanted the only kind of unity between Giraud and De Gaulle that would rally the support of the people and the fighting forces of France, they would have encouraged Giraud to purge the army and accept the reforms for which the De Gaullists have been fighting. But they preferred to maintain the status quo even at the cost of unity. And so they have succeeded in perpetuating confusion and rivalry.

The divided command they have forced upon De Gaulle means in reality a divided army. There will be an independent French army—headed by De Gaulle. There will be mass desertions. There will be bitter jurisdictional rows over recruiting rights. Loyalty to leaders will be exalted over loyalty to the common cause. And out of it all will come a further loss of democratic prestige by our own country and Britain.

I am not talking about some distant future. These effects are being felt today. Last Sunday Drew Middleton wrote in the *New York Times* that the "only organized, dynamic political force in North Africa at present is

General de Gaulle's Fighting French movement." General Giraud's victory, he concluded, "must be considered a temporary one" since it is not likely to survive the withdrawal of Allied support; and Allied support will presumably end when the Allied armies have left North Africa. Middleton leaves no doubt that popular feeling for De Gaulle has been increased by the intervention of Britain and America on the side of Giraud. In the Middle East also, strong resentment is boiling up. A private cable from a well-informed American in Beirut brings word that Frenchmen in the army and in civil life are unable to comprehend "continued Allied support of Giraud at the expense of De Gaulle and the pro-democratic elements grouped around him." Their indignation is mixed with fears of the future. Perhaps they are less certain than Mr. Middleton that Giraud's leadership, and that of the reactionary officers who retain their commissions in the army under his command, will end when the Allied forces withdraw from Africa. On the contrary, they fear a very different result: a French colonial army largely officered by reactionaries crossing from North Africa to "liberate" France according to some new formula of authoritarian control. That the United States and Britain should be suspected of contriving to bring about such a result is evidence of the growing suspicion and dislike with which freedom-loving Frenchmen regard their powerful Allies.

The whole dismal policy of the United States toward De Gaulle and the Fighting French is neatly illustrated in the interview with General Charles Mast appearing on a later page of this issue. The new Resident General of Tunisia tells the story of the intricate and fascinating plot which led to the American-British expedition to North Africa. But the General reveals some brand new facts; for the first time we learn of the major role played by himself and by other De Gaullist sympathizers in preparing the way for the Allied landings. Who in America ever heard before that General Mast was the man who carried on the preliminary negotiations with the American envoy, Robert D. Murphy? Why were we never told that the widespread conspiracy to seize the towns, arrest hostile officials and army men, and open the gates to the American troops was carried out by civilians, most of them De Gaullists?

General Mast's version of these events, completely contradicting the reports allowed to reach American ears, seems to me to have an importance which more deliberate revelations often lack. It proves with unpleasant finality that the American authorities in North Africa deliberately withheld credit from men who had risked their lives to help our forces and whose help we had readily accepted. It proves that they suppressed all facts that might have reflected honor on the Fighting French. There may be some decent explanation for such behavior, but for the moment I can't think of any.

Bureaucrat Bites Press

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 25

IT'S always news when a bureaucrat bites the press, and Elmer Davis, who has been in the business long enough, might have expected trouble when he made that speech to the Newspaper Guild. The newspapers, which dish it out all day long, are notoriously unable to take it. None of us (your correspondent included) hesitate to pass with majestic certitude on the most complex of technical subjects. But let the worm turn, and lecture the press—though the worm be, like Davis, one of ourselves—and the editors run screaming for their shillelaghs. Ours is a sensitive profession.

Were the nation's editors good sports, they would accept with equanimity lectures much less justified than Davis's. He may not have told the whole truth—who can aspire to that?—but he did tell a part of the truth we all tend to overlook. Since newspaper comment by this time has succeeded in thoroughly confusing the public as to just what dreadful things Davis did say, and the fate of the OWI may now hang on it, it may be well to glance back at the horrid words actually uttered in Boston. Davis complained that in most newspapers "Washington bureaucrat is a term of abuse; and Washington has become a synonym for muddle, confusion, and bickering." The truth of this can be checked in anyone's morning newspaper. That rank-and-file working newspapermen admit this was clear from the enthusiastic reception given the speech by the Newspaper Guild. Most of the barking comes from the front office and the trained seals.

Davis admitted that "we are not doing our jobs as well as we should . . . some of us have indulged in unseemly bickering," and all this, he said, "has been dutifully and copiously reported by the vigilant corps of Washington correspondents." His retort, if it was a retort, was couched, tactfully enough, as explanation. "It is the function of these men," he continued, "to report current news and to cover Washington; it is not their business to seek historical parallels, or to contrast Washington with other capitals of the world. If it were, they might have discovered that muddle, confusion, and bickering, however deplorable, are characteristic of most human activity at all times and all places, and particularly characteristic of capitals in war time. They exist in the capitals of our allies; they exist in the capitals of our enemies too." To say this too often would lead to complacency. But surely it needs to be said occasionally. Criticism is healthy, but so is perspective. To start by

casting out the beam from my own eye, I think Mr. Davis's words provide a counterbalance which the reader of my own constantly critical Washington letters may usefully keep in mind.

I do not intend to cease wielding my own little sledge hammer, and I am not suggesting that the newspapers content themselves with printing OWI releases. But I see nothing heinous in what Davis said, and I wonder whether the uproar it created was not due in part to uneasy consciences. It may not be the business of the press to seek comforting historical parallels, but I suspect many newspapers would make that their business if we had a conservative or reactionary President of whom they approved. Though quite a few papers, like the Republican New York *Herald Tribune*, have succeeded in admirable fashion in keeping partisanship within proper limits, many are still carrying on the old hate-Roosevelt campaign. Others, which roar so bravely about bureaucracy—like sin, undefended—are mouselike when they touch occasionally, if at all, on the shortcomings of the big-business crowd which has largely been running the war effort. The attention paid to bickering in the capital is in part due to the natural weakness of newspapermen for the dramatic headline. In part it reflects a familiar tendency to evade more fundamental issues by concentrating attention on personalities.

The most unfortunate part of the cry-baby outburst by the press as a whole is that it distracted attention from Davis's attack upon the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson axis. Davis said that "in the case of a few newspapers—very few" the impression that Washington is all muddle "has been deliberately created, for reasons on which I would prefer not to speculate." Davis thought it "sufficient to note" that "their attacks on bureaucracy are only a minor phase of what appears to be a carefully planned and assiduously executed editorial policy, which, whatever its attitude toward our own war effort, often seems actuated by a greater hostility to some of our allies than to some of our enemies." Perhaps so few joined in this condemnation of the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press because of the powerful business interests these papers serve and the hate-Roosevelt chorus they swell.

Much can be said in criticism of the OWI, but little of that will be found in the intemperate and bigoted debate in which the House voted to abolish the domestic branch of the OWI altogether. There is too little adult discussion of our problems in Washington, too much puerile boasting, and this has helped create a dangerous

atmosphere of complacency. But the officials chiefly responsible for this are the President, Byrnes, Nelson, most but not all of the dollar-a-year men (especially Jeffers), Secretary of the Navy Knox, and the general run of "brass hats." From this last category I would honorably except the Under Secretaries of War and Navy, most of the Assistant Secretaries, General Somervell, and many of the generals in the field, notably Stilwell, whose manly frankness is in such sharp contrast to the hooey so frequent in the department communiqués. The worst and principal offender is Mr. Roosevelt himself. He likes neither to be told nor to tell unpleasant facts.

Considering the difficulties under which the OWI must operate and the natural reluctance of politicians and business men—like the rest of us—to be too frank about their work, the OWI has done extraordinarily well. Its general reporting and some of its special reports on rubber, planes, and Willow Run have been extremely honest; it has had a good effect on army and navy communiqués, which can be amazingly silly, as they were in their piecemeal admission about the Japanese invasion of the Aleutians. The domestic branch of the OWI has two advantages over the previous set-up, the one to which we shall return if the Senate does not restore the appropriation voted down by the House. The first is an advantage for the newspapers: the OWI provides a central source of information in place of myriad information agencies. The second is an advantage for the public. An information officer attached directly to an important public official is at his mercy. The OWI gives the information officer greater leverage in getting out the truth because he can appeal to an independent information chief with a Presidential directive. This often makes a good deal of difference.

These and other relevant considerations played no part whatever in the attack made upon the OWI in the House. The first consideration was that of partisan politics. The Republicans in the House caucused on the OWI, and the elimination of the domestic branch was made a party matter, though both the former and the new head of that branch and probably half its executives are Republicans. The second consideration was race prejudice. Within a few days of the terrible Detroit riots a majority of the members of the House of Representatives were so lacking in a sense of responsibility to their country in a time of war as to deliver a slap in the face to our largest minority, the Negroes. The Republicans out of partisanship and the Southern Democrats out of a blind bigotry punished Davis for the OWI's excellent pamphlet "Negroes and the War." "My boy in England and my boy in Africa," Allen of Louisiana cried, "don't need any Elmer Davis of the New York American Labor Party to tell them what the war is about. They learned from Southern Democrats." I shudder to think what they learned.

A third consideration apparent in the debate was Davis's failure to share that "greater hostility to some of our allies" which is as often expressed on the floor of the House as in the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press. Though Davis fought the Communists hard in the American Labor Party, he never succumbed to the paranoia of the professional anti-reds. The OWI is run on a truly anti-fascist basis; its personnel includes men of any political shade who are sincerely opposed to the Axis and its ideology, and it treats the Soviet Union as an ally, an attitude often strikingly absent in Congress. On the air last April 30 Davis declared that the Nazi story of the Polish corpses discovered miraculously preserved at Smolensk "looks very fishy" and commented on the difficulties Premier Sikorsky has with "a faction of extremists—the sort of men, void of any sense of political realities, who ruined Poland in the eighteenth century." Davis's reward was an attack by Lesinski of Michigan, whose proposal that all OWI propaganda abroad be handed over to the State Department was widely approved in the House, though it will be greeted elsewhere with dismay. The State Department has been carrying on covert propaganda against the OWI, for the ideology which dominates the department is also the ideology of most Southern Democrats.

It would take more space than I have at my disposal to cover the bald misstatements which figured in the House debate. Taber, ranking Republican member of the House Appropriations Committee, was cheap, unprincipled, and vicious. He said the domestic branch of the OWI was asking a 300 per cent increase in personnel; the increase asked was 18 per cent. Taber's second, Wigglesworth, said the committee was not provided with transcripts of the foreign broadcasts; a box containing several hundred was sent to Taber. Wigglesworth said he would place the overseas work of the OWI under the army and navy; in all areas of actual or projected military operations it is under the chiefs of staff. Lesinski said mention of Mihailovich "is taboo" on OWI broadcasts; his name is frequently used. "What is wrong with the army and navy giving out their own statements?" Allen of Louisiana asked. "They did it in the First World War." They *didn't* in the First World War. They *do* now. The OWI is consulted, but army and navy communiqués are issued by commanding officers in the field or by the War and Navy Departments here.

The 300 pages of testimony given by Davis and his aides before the House Appropriations Committee last month provide a far different impression of the OWI from the House debate, a debate in which the House Democratic leadership did little if anything to support the OWI. Taber and Wigglesworth were at those hearings and spoke later on the floor more from malice than ignorance. In the hearings one saw the tribute paid the

OWI by General Marshall and other army chiefs, the useful role it played in preparing the North African landings, the handicaps, caused by inadequate funds and facilities, under which it operates as compared with our enemies. The short-wave facilities of the Nazis and Italians are ten times as great as ours; our lack of them

made it possible for the Japanese to put the news of the Tunisian victories on the air their own way four hours before we could.

These crucial matters seem of no importance to this cantankerous, bigoted, and criminally irresponsible Congress.

Let's Look at Labor

II. NEW TASKS FOR TRADE UNIONS

BY LAWRENCE ROGIN

CAN a labor organization which has built up its strength by obtaining economic gains for its members, primarily through collective bargaining, keep the loyalty of its members in a period when questions of wages, hours, and overtime pay have been almost entirely removed from the sphere of collective bargaining by government action? This problem has been occupying thinking trade unionists since the start of the war. Recently it has been brought into sharp focus by the President's anti-inflationary orders, which seem to remove the possibility of wage increases, except in a few instances, and certainly prevent any union from gaining strength by the time-honored technique of campaigning for a general rise in pay.

The bitter reaction of John L. Lewis when the President's "hold the line" order caught him in the midst of negotiations for contracts covering almost every coal miner in the country is evidence of the frustration felt by old-line unionists in the present situation. For even when union membership has been held by closed-shop contracts, the American labor movement has counted on maintaining union morale by means of its ability to obtain constant improvements. This characteristic of American trade unionism, glorified as "job consciousness" by labor theorists during the Coolidge prosperity days in contrast to the class consciousness of European labor, revealed its futility by its failure to build a labor movement in that period or to hold together what had been built when unemployment and depression set in and economic gains were no longer possible.

So far as Mr. Lewis is concerned, there seems no hope for a new approach to the problem. For in effect the miners' leader has said, "It's no use even trying to stop inflation. Let's give the miners all they want, the farmers all they want, the industrialists a fair profit, and let the devil take the hindmost." Mr. Lewis has admitted that he cannot think of union service to his membership at this time in any other terms than higher wages. No fair-minded person would challenge his statement that most

miners are underpaid, that the cost of living has been rising, that corporation profits are too high. Yet we must wonder whether trade unionists in general would agree that a drive for higher wages backed up by strike action is the only solution for labor's present problems. Congress has already indicated the political effect of such action, and at this writing the miners' strike has not been won.

If governmental restrictions upon collective bargaining have taken from the labor movement the possibility of building union strength upon immediate gains, how can the unions keep the support of their memberships in the face of such attacks as those made recently by reactionaries in the state legislatures of Kansas and Texas and by the anti-labor bloc in Congress? How can labor so maintain its strength that it can be assured of a voice in writing the peace and in building a new America?

If trade unionism is thought of only in terms of collective bargaining there can be no such assurance, even though collective bargaining, as Clinton S. Golden and Harold Ruttenburg, officials of the United Steel Workers, have ably pointed out, encompasses many things that may be more vital to the worker than an increase in pay. Union grievance machinery has worked overtime handling problems of work loads, job reclassification, seniority, promotions, layoffs, and discharges which have arisen as a result of the conversion of industry to war production. Every new change in production methods brings a new opportunity for the union to prove its worth. The restrictions on wages and overtime pay, the shifting of workers from job to job provide many problems for the shop steward and full-time union representative. If an individual worker is helpless when dealing with an employer, how much more so he becomes before the complexities of War Labor Board or Manpower Commission rulings. Yet the efficient handling of grievances, so essential if the union is to remain strong, does not arouse militant support. Alone it cannot evoke the loyalty and understanding required in the present situation.

The union movement must make its major appeal outside the collective-bargaining field. It must prove to the American worker that his union can be an agency for achieving a full life for him and his family. It must show him the close relationship between economics and politics and how governmental action on national, state, and local levels can affect his welfare. It must demonstrate that collective action by the workers can provide better housing, decent price controls, and proper education for his children, as well as protection in the shop, and that these things are equally important to him.

The war has given labor this challenge—and at the same time an opportunity that must not be missed. For the changes brought by the war have opened workers' minds to problems up to now ignored. The American worker has never asked his union to protect him as consumer; yet that is one of the tasks which American labor must undertake today. Locally and nationally labor must act to prevent runaway prices and to maintain quality standards. What labor has attempted in this field is more important than a score of wage increases. While Congress, under the whip of the farm bloc and organized business, has been sabotaging every effort at price control, the labor movement alone has been fighting back with real force.

Crowded living conditions and the shortage of doctors have given the worker a concern for decent housing, for adequate medical care. Rationing has forced him to think about nutrition standards. The demand for labor has called his attention to the need for nursery schools. High prices lead him to think about cooperatives. Here are immediate fields of service for the union, which can stimulate both community action and legislation.

The worker worries, too, about what is going to happen after the war. Soldiers in the production lines, like those at the front, want to know that the war is not being fought in vain. Without understanding them too well, the worker is attracted by the Beveridge plan and the report of our National Resources Planning Board. He must be educated to realize that the union is the only agency in America for turning these aspirations into realities.

Even as the worker's mind is opening to new problems, so the tight anti-labor communities are finding it necessary, whether they like it or not, to recognize that unions exist. OPA regulations, now finally being enforced, require union representation on local price-control and rationing boards. The Office of Civilian Defense has a similar policy, though it lacks the machinery for enforcement. The cooperation of labor is needed if bond drives are to be put across and if community war chests are to be filled. Labor's relief committees have done an outstanding job in this respect. Even promoters of schemes for assuring proper nutrition go to the unions for endorsement these days rather than to employers.

How well has the labor movement met this challenge? What has it done to take advantage of these opportunities? The best that can be said is that a beginning has been made. The activities program of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has been broadened to meet war demands. A few unions, among them the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers, have attempted to develop full-fledged victory programs which would reach from the national office down through the membership and affect almost every phase of the worker's existence. For the most part, however, action has been sporadic, its extent depending on the pressure exerted by the national organization, the local situation, and the willingness of overburdened union representatives to undertake new responsibilities. Unfortunately, too, unions which have engaged in community war activities have often stopped after the bond and war-chest drives were completed.

Limited as the effort has been, the results indicate that the job can be done. Even before Pearl Harbor the Shipbuilding Workers experimented with a cooperative housing project. The United Automobile Workers have recently revived their Medical Bureau. The example set some time ago by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in providing insurance coverage for a large part of its membership has been followed recently by the Textile Workers' Union of America (C. I. O.) in a number of contracts. Union-sponsored consumers' centers in Newark, New Jersey, and Reading, Pennsylvania, have served entire communities. Child-care centers are being established in many areas as the result of union interest. Labor representatives are starting to function as members of rationing boards, and local labor pressures are backing the efforts of the OPA Labor Advisory Committee to make price control real. Local union legislative committees are writing to their Congressmen on such subjects as rent control, grade labeling of canned goods, and appropriations for the FSA, as well as on matters traditionally more in labor's province. Both branches of the labor movement are claiming credit for the new Wagner-Murray-Dingell social-security bill, and the unions have made at least a gesture toward the consideration of post-war problems. One union has made a really serious effort to concentrate its members' attention on the subject.

These activities, taken separately, are hardly enough to catch the imagination of the American worker. As part of a well-organized social program consciously sponsored by the national labor federations and their constituent unions, they could inspire enthusiasm and loyalty. Such a program, interpreted by an effective educational campaign and supported by unified political activity, would be more than an answer to the Rickenbackers; it would be the beginning of a new labor movement in America.

[This is the second of a series of seven articles on the problems confronting the American labor movement.]

The Negro's Challenge

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

{Last week James Boyd, a Southern liberal, urged the Negroes to be patient and to avoid policies which might provoke explosions. Below, a well-known Negro newspaperman replies in an article which, although completed some time before the riots in Detroit, provides a significant commentary on those and other recent racial disturbances. Our own views on the problems discussed in these two articles and on the recrudescence of mob violence directed against minorities will be found in the editorial section.—EDITORS THE NATION.]}

THE United States stands frozen and paralyzed before its Negro problem. The divergent and contradictory streams of thought in its culture prevent it from even conceiving of a rational approach to a solution. The United States thinks of itself as a political democracy but knows that it maintains a semi-caste system within its social order. It believes itself to be a good nation, dedicated to the brotherhood of man, but it has never fully included the Negro in its political, economic, and social system. Now, facing the problem in an acute stage, it is unable to plan or to act to meet the impending crisis.

The Negro problem is not new in this country. But since the war, as a result of the conflict of ideologies, it has become a world problem, and the United States must now do something about it. It must act not merely for moral reasons, to right the social injustices involved, but for motives of self-interest, indeed, of self-preservation.

We are fighting a yellow nation which has challenged white imperialism and ridiculed the so-called democracies for clinging to the notion of white superiority. We have a yellow nation as an ally, and we are desperately trying to hold in check the brown people of India. Japanese references to our treatment of the American Negro embarrass all of our attempts at psychological warfare. Every time a Negro is lynched here, the Japanese broadcast the event to China, India, and South America. The stupid racial policy of the Anglo-Saxon nations was an important factor in their defeat in the Pacific. The United Nations will have the task after the war of setting up a new balance of power based upon a moral order which, to be workable, must include yellow, brown, and black people. How can America share in this when it does not include its own black citizens in the moral order prevailing within its own boundaries?

There is another reason why the contradiction of caste and democracy must be resolved. To develop its maximum striking power, in the factories, the fields, and the

armed forces, the nation cannot ignore one-tenth of its people. The sheer need for man-power is opening more and more opportunities to Negroes. But though many advances have been made, millions of Negroes are still idle or working in non-essential industries because Northern farmers refuse to employ them, many defense plants limit their participation by a quota system, and the armed forces relegate them to limited services.

And how about the Negroes; how do they feel? Many white persons who have inquired have been frightened by the answers they obtained. A change so profound that few persons realize its fateful meaning is taking place in the mentality of the American Negro. He has experienced of late an upsurge of feeling which has given him a new sense of his own dignity and of his relationship to world events.

The forces bringing about this change antedate our participation in the war. Negroes throughout the United States were aware and resentful of the rape of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie was to them a hero, and relatives of his in this country addressed numerous Negro audiences. Various Negro newspapers first developed mass circulation through the appeal of the Ethiopian issue and the rise of Joe Louis.

In the present conflict the Negro is finding the problems of the Chinese, the Indians, and the Burmese strangely similar to his own. In this sense the Negro has become more international-minded than the rest of the population. His sympathy with other colored peoples was aroused long before the general population had begun to question America's policy of isolationism. He came to have a certain respect for the Japanese, who had successfully fought three white nations, though his hope for the representation of dark people in the Allied peace rests with the Chinese. Realizing more acutely than whites the global significance of a guaranty of democratic rights and privileges to all peoples of the world, he has broken out of his caste-bound mentality, transcended his purely racial point of view (which led him only to despair), and now sees his position in society as identified with that of the darker races of the world.

The war has confronted the Negro with a situation which has forced him to sharpen his thinking and define for himself the role which he wishes to play in American civilization. The conflict between the pressure which was forcing him into a caste position and the slogans for democracy which raised his expectation of complete citizen-

ship has of his new attitude. At first it be expressed sharply in this could only the crude a new black people adopting express... The so rapid extent without of Negro Jim Crow cultural neath a plan and old... The While rights, through sullen and may be won participation they are phase of the peace demands... As far as Negro's and of that the infuriations were of their men to stifle all middle premacc to be p into a Pearl Bay with the... In the istration cannot

ship have developed in him a new critical consideration of his position in the social structure of the country and a new attitude toward the theory and practice of democracy. At first this new capacity for critical analysis seemed to be expressed in a series of complaints. Brought up sharply against the paradoxes of democracy, the Negro in this initial stage of the development of a line of action could do little more than articulate his discontent. But in the crucible of frustration and despair he is developing a new and positive line of thought which holds hope for black people and for the institution of democracy. He is adopting a point of view that is not inconsistent with the expressed aims of the United Nations.

The change in the Negro's mentality has come about so rapidly that few people—even Negroes—realize its extent. It is expressed in his refusal to accept segregation without complaint even in the armed forces—numbers of Negroes have gone to prison rather than fight in a Jim Crow army—in impetuous individual defiance of cultural patterns of racial subordination, in the hysterical oratory of excited speakers for Negro rights. But underneath all this is a determination to become a full citizen, to plan and think for himself regardless of past friends and old leaders.

The basic issues in the Negro's struggle have changed. While at first Negro demands were simply for Negro rights, now they are for democratic rights for all peoples throughout the world. While at first many Negroes were sullen and wished to see this country brought to its knees and made to realize that without them the war could not be won, and while at first they wished to withhold their participation until certain concessions were granted, now they are demanding the right to participate in every phase of the war so that they can also participate in the peace. Demands for concessions have given way to demands for equality.

As for the white people, many are reacting to the Negro's new attitude with fear or hate. In the South, and often in other parts of the country too, they fear that their prerogatives are being challenged. They are infuriated by the Negro press and in terror of the emotions which they sense behind the mask-like countenance of their once humble black servants. Southern Congressmen form alliances with reactionary Northern tories to stifle all legislation which might help ease racial tensions; middle-class people form leagues to maintain white supremacy; the former Southern liberals caution Negroes to be patient; and the *Lumpenproletariat* whips itself up into a lynch mood. Of course, the Wendell Willkies, the Pearl Bucks, and the Bishop Sheils are trying to cope with the problem, but they are a minority.

In the face of these conflicts and tensions the Administration is bankrupt. As a matter of fact, the government cannot openly take cognizance of the Negro problem.

The logic of our democratic culture forbids definitely assigning to the Negro a subordinate status, while the Southern poll-tax Congressmen block any positive propaganda of action for national unity. Officially the Negro cannot be given even a promise of liberation which will make him willing to wait and hope as the English expect the people of India to wait and hope. The myth of democracy is, indeed, often used to prevent the employment of the most elementary mechanisms for racial adjustments. A case in point was the attempt of Southern Congressmen to eliminate the race-relations division of the Federal Housing Agency, because "this is a democracy and we don't need to consider the Negro as different from anyone else."

Many white liberals, North and South, appalled at the situation, have counseled the Negro to be patient. They have pointed out the gains which have accrued to him during the last three Administrations and reviewed the progress the Negroes have made in the past three hundred years. They assume that because of their past friendship Negroes should have faith in them and in their analysis of the possibilities and dangers of aggressive action by Negroes at this moment.

What many white liberals do not realize is that they are measuring the gains with an obsolete yardstick. At a time when peoples are being liquidated or given equality overnight, gradualism has little meaning. With a world revolution in progress one group of people cannot be held apart from the stream of thought and told to have faith in education and good-will. To ask the American Negro to go slowly is to attempt either to slacken the international pace of social change or to isolate the Negro from the world forces in which he is engulfed.

The direct antithesis of this so-called gradualism should not be thought of as an eruption of violence. Such an eventuality may result from too rapid change, but if it does, the explosion is not the measure of the pressure exerted by the Negro to rise in status; it is the measure of the reaction of whites against his rise. Changes in race relations should be thought of as a continuum, and to make gradualism, which is a rate of speed of change, and explosion, which is a possible result of too rapid change, opposite poles is to confuse the analysis of race relations.

The likelihood of success for a non-violent change is determined to a large extent by the social circumstances prevailing when the change is attempted. A minority finds its best opportunity to advance at a time when its claims for equal rights and privileges are in accord with the social aims of the dominant group. Since America is just now deeply concerned not only with living up to democratic principles at home but, together with other United Nations, with guaranteeing democracy to all peoples everywhere, the present is a logical time for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Those who want

Negroes voluntarily to relinquish their claims to democratic rights and privileges are either not willing to put their ideologies to the test of reality or are denying by inference that this global war is being fought for the right of peoples everywhere to be free.

The Negro is in many respects making a more rational analysis of contemporary events than many who would give him counsel. The struggle in which we are engaged is one against oppression—whether from the tyrannical forces of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, or from the colonial imperialism of the British Empire, or from the racial imperialism of the United States. To win a cheap military victory over the Axis and then to continue the exploitation of subject peoples within the British Empire and the subordination of Negroes in the United States is to set the stage for the next world war—probably a war of color.

The manner in which the present war is prosecuted will determine the peace which is achieved and the new world order which is established. Writing the peace is not a process that begins with the declaration of an armistice. The movement of men, the opening of fronts, the political deals made during the war shape the peace long before the diplomats sit around a table. The participation of China, of India, and of all the dark peoples, including the American Negro, will constitute a moral claim which cannot be ignored by the United Nations.

When two worlds are at war—the world of fascism and the world of democracy—any hope for the brotherhood of man can arise only out of the struggle of people united for a common end. To insure a victory for the common man, who has too often been mobilized to fight for a noble objective only to find himself cheated by selfish interests when a military victory was won, the essential elements of brotherhood must be achieved during the struggle itself. Brotherhood is both the means and the end of the struggle. This to many people is as rational as is the theory of gradualism or counting small gains. The Negro by refusing to accept gradualism may be helping America to save itself, helping to establish the new world order which must eventually come if Western civilization is not lost to fascist reaction.

This is not a program of action except in the most general sense. Any "pat" solution—any formula—should be regarded with great caution. Perhaps the first step toward a solution should be the realization that the problem of the American Negro is a world problem, that it is part of the problem of all the common people of the world. Somehow, through some mechanism, there must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoples. The present war must be considered as one phase of a larger struggle to achieve this new moral order. Nothing must blind us to the necessity of

securing the larger victory. In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE BILL passed the other day by the Senate, . . . making eight hours a legal day's labor in all government yards and workshops, is not particularly important as regards its effect on the government service. . . . Its real object is to lend the influence and authority of the United States Senate . . . to the theory that employers should be forced, either by legislation or workingmen's combinations, into accepting eight hours as a day's labor and treating it as worth as much as a day of ten hours.—*July 2, 1868.*

"THE SPANISH GYPSY: A POEM." By George Eliot. The appearance of a new work by George Eliot is properly a cause of no small satisfaction to the lovers of good literature. . . . In her novels she had never struck us as possessing the poetic character. But at last, today, late in her career, she surprises the world with a long poem which, if it fails materially to deepen our esteem for her remarkable talents, will certainly not diminish it.—*July 2, 1868.*

THE NEWS from the European continent is meager and unimportant, and is mostly made up of newspaper rumors. The real makers of news are off at the watering-places or in the mountains seeking repose and health, and the correspondents are thrown back on their wits for wars and alliances and threats and intrigues and coolnesses.—*July 16, 1868.*

THE POPE has at last opened his spiritual batteries on the Austrian reformers. . . . He says the Austrian government has passed "an odious law, establishing free liberty for all opinions, liberty of the press, of all faith, and no matter what confession or doctrine; it grants to the members of every confession the right of establishing public schools and colleges, and members of every confession are allowed to be admitted on the same footing with the sanction of the state." —*July 16, 1868.*

NOTES. LITERARY. . . . We have not previously mentioned as being in preparation by Messrs. Roberts Brothers . . . "Little Women: A Girl's Book," by Miss L. M. Alcott.—*July 16, 1868.*

THOSE WHO DENY the authority of Congress to regulate the railway traffic among the states must, of necessity, deny its power to regulate the railway or other land traffic with Canada or with Mexico. In fact, the opponents of the proposed measure are driven to the position that the Constitution was only framed for the state of things, physical as well as political, which existed at the time of its adoption, and that it contains no quality of elasticity, no faculty of adaptation to the changes in the forms of conducting the activities of life, and to the progress in the material arts.—*July 30, 1868.*

The Plot That Took Algiers

BY MICHAEL K. CLARK

[We have always been led to believe that the French elements with which Robert D. Murphy and General Mark Clark negotiated prior to the North African landings last November were disaffected Vichyites, but in the interview printed below, General Mast, the chief French participant and a De Gaullist, reveals almost casually, with no idea of proving a point or making an exposé, that De Gaullists played a major role in preparing the way for the Anglo-American expedition. This throws a curious and sinister light on the many inspired reports that De Gaulle had no influence in Algeria and gives the interview more significance than either General Mast or Mr. Clark imagined.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Beirut, Syria, May 28

GENERAL MAST, recently appointed Resident General of Tunisia by General Giraud, is recovering in a Beirut military hospital from injuries suffered in an airplane accident. His appointment brings to the fore a man who, perhaps more than anyone else, was responsible for preparing the way in North Africa for the Allied landings in November, 1942. Having obtained General Mast's permission to interview him on behalf of *The Nation*, I had the good fortune to hear his first-hand account of the dramatic conspiracy which preceded and made possible the Anglo-American operations.

Receiving me in his hospital room overlooking St. George's Bay, with a view, beyond, of the snow-capped mountains of the Lebanon, General Mast began by stressing that genuine unity of all Frenchmen in the war was inevitable.

"There is no real problem of unity," he said. "From a military point of view it is already a fact. In Tunisia, for instance, French soldiers of the North African army and those of Fighting France, having campaigned side by side, are now fraternizing without any feeling of difference. Political unity, which is essential to give France a government truly representing the nation, cannot lag far behind: too many forces combine to bring it about. Even the problems of organization, which so far have been a delaying factor, can hardly prevent an outcome to which both General Giraud and General de Gaulle are pledged and which is the will of the French people.

"I presume that the story of the French conspiracy in North Africa preceding the Allied landings is known in America. It was a dramatic episode, filled with tense moments when the success or failure of the whole enter-

prise hung in the balance, an episode of which the smallest detail will never be forgotten by us who took part in it.

"The news of General Giraud's escape from the Königstein Fortress in Germany, which might be considered the first step in our conspiracy, was flashed around the world. But each of the steps which followed, during long months of planning and preparation, was necessarily surrounded by the strictest secrecy. General Giraud's decision to take upon himself the responsibility for organizing French resistance in North Africa, a decision from which General Weygand had recoiled, and my arrival in Algiers shortly afterward as his advance agent were the real beginnings of our conspiracy.

"In North Africa I found the American mission headed by Mr. Murphy, upon which all our hopes hung, virtually quarantined by General Weygand, who had ordered all officers under his command to refrain from having any dealings whatever with American diplomatic or consular personnel. General Weygand refused from the start to listen to proposals of Allied military aid in North Africa, and all reports to the contrary are untrue. At this moment French officers who took a lead in conversations with Mr. Murphy and his associates languish in Vichy prisons, sentenced by General Weygand.

"Realizing that the arrival in North Africa of an American military expedition of any importance—and only an important one would do—could be brought about only through direct contact with the American General Staff, I begged Mr. Murphy, with whom I was secretly in touch, to do his utmost to arrange a meeting between myself and an American general somewhere along the North African coast. Mr. Murphy agreed to do his best, but his inopportune absence from North Africa during September and early October delayed this meeting so vitally important to our two countries. When Mr. Murphy returned to Algiers, however, it was possible to put the plan into execution. In touch with London by radio, Mr. Murphy managed to arrange for General Clark and his staff to be brought to Gibraltar in a Flying Fortress belonging to the R. A. F. and from Gibraltar to the North African coast, on October 22, in a British submarine.

"The meeting took place near the town of Cherchell, in a farmhouse close to the shore.* General Clark and his staff landed on the deserted beach before dawn from the submarine hovering offshore. The beach was guarded; but

* The house belonged to a former mayor of Algiers, a De Gaullist, who with several others who had cooperated with the Americans was later arrested on Giraud's order.

the coastguardsmen there were among the dozen or so men in North Africa who were in the plot. As soon as General Clark came ashore, he went into conference with Mr. Murphy and myself; while we three studied the general aspects of the problem, the officers of General Clark's staff and the French officers who had accompanied me worked out its details. On that day the plan of an Allied landing took shape, and backed by General Clark's pledge of a full-scale American operation, we decided to lose no time in putting the affair up to General Giraud, who was still in France.

"The day was not without its alarms. A native, unseen by the guard, had witnessed the landing of the American officers, and suspecting that something serious was afoot, had hastened to Cherchell to inform the police commissioner there of what he had seen. Fortunately he was conducted first, not to the commissioner himself, but to the vice-commissioner, who by a singular chance belonged to our group and knew of the meeting. The vice-commissioner did everything in his power to keep the native and his story from reaching the commissioner, but toward evening the commissioner's suspicions were aroused. He determined to go to the farm and investigate for himself. At that moment our enterprise hung by a thread; it was saved only by the coolness of the lieutenant commanding the coastguardsmen. This officer was the first person to see the commissioner arrive. Asked by the commissioner what was going on in the farmhouse, he replied that the American envoy, Mr. Murphy, had chosen this out-of-the-way spot to give a rather riotous party for some of his friends, and that it would not be wise to disturb him, since to do so might create a diplomatic incident. The commissioner retired, General Clark and his officers came up from the cellar where they had taken refuge, and the conference was resumed.

"Our troubles did not end there, however. At nightfall, when the time came for General Clark to return to the submarine, it was discovered that the sea, which in the morning had been quite calm, was now running high, with dangerous breakers near the shore. The waves made the use of the landing craft, which were nothing more than kayaks, extremely perilous. These frail boats, when put into the water, upset almost at once; and yet a postponement of the departure was out of the question. Several hours passed. At last, toward four o'clock, General Clark decided to put off in spite of the sea, which had not grown less angry; dawn was about to break and it would have been folly to wait any longer. We held our breath as we watched the operation. The little kayaks were badly tossed about but by some miracle reached the submarine before they capsized. Luckily the General and his staff were dragged from the water, drenched but safe.

"In the following days our conspiracy matured, and the measure of its success could be seen on the night of November 7, the night preceding the Allied landings.

Although in Morocco and at Oran our plans, for various fortuitous reasons, miscarried, in Algiers they succeeded perfectly. The groups of resistance which I had organized there, and which were composed exclusively of civilians, the majority of them partisans of General de Gaulle, took over the city before dawn; they made virtual prisoners of all pro-Vichy leaders, including Darlan; and they saw to it that the Anglo-American forces were able to occupy the place almost without firing a shot."

In the Wind

GERALD L. K. SMITH is growing more tolerant. He opened a recent meeting of his Committee of One Million in Cleveland with the announcement that they would say the Lord's Prayer in unison. "We want you all to rise," he said, "whether you are Catholic or Methodist."

THE ONLY MEMBER of the American Newspaper Guild to violate the off-the-record character of executive sessions at the guild's national convention at Boston was the correspondent of the *Daily Worker*.

IF YOU DOUBT Franco's neutrality, your doubts should be removed by the background material which the Press Association, radio division of the Associated Press, has sent to its member stations. "Up to now," it reads, "the Spanish generalissimo has maintained a foreign policy of non-belligerency. But at the same time he has maintained a token division on the Russian front—the only military aid he is known to have given either Hitler or Mussolini. . . . His sole token of disrespect against the Anglo-American powers is his denunciation of Soviet Russia as a menace to Europe."

ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME: An article in *Printers' Ink* tells how the advertising manager can make the workers love the company: "The advertising manager who spends a little time in the plant quickly learns the potential power of the underground 'grapevine' in the plant. He will make friends of certain people who are active contributors to the grapevine, and on occasion, to serve the company's interest, he will very confidentially drop a message into this grapevine operator's eager ear. He will know enough, of course, not to try to use this expedient too often."

FESTUNG EUROPA: An official German circular gives these instructions for dealing with foreign workers: "Keep your distance. No friendly words, only commands. . . . Though it is difficult for the German people, they must learn that the too soft German heart must be second to common sense." . . . At an Oslo restaurant a Nazi officer asked a young lady to dance with him. She refused. "Is it because I am a German?" "By no means. It is because I am a Norwegian."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.*]

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POLITICAL WAR

EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

"Order" in Europe

AFTER three years of discreet reserve the Vatican has again emerged into world politics. Its first political proclamation was the speech by Pope Pius XII to 25,000 Italian workers, commented upon briefly in this section last week. All its previous utterances had been at best escapes from earth to heaven. As long as fascism was strong and a fascist victory probable, the Vatican limited itself to the minimum activity required in order to avoid giving the impression that the Catholic church, like the Comintern, had decided to dissolve. It had, of course, expressed its pure unpolitical horror at the sufferings to which mankind had been subjected. But at no time had the Holy See considered it its duty to mention the anti-Christ by name or to declare Hitler outside the law of God.

Moving into the victorious coalition, the Vatican takes the position that might have been expected. It sides immediately with the faction that survived Munich, remained in power after war came, and is now all out to ruin the peace. The diplomacy of expediency, of a "fascism without Mussolini," of the formula "Don Juan with or without Franco," of collaboration with the Latin American dictators finds in Pius XII its best support. But neither the tradition of the Vatican nor the strong personality of its present head can reconcile itself to the idea of being on the losing side. That is perhaps the most disquieting aspect of the Pope's speech. The fact that His Holiness has pronounced himself publicly in favor of a policy of suppression of the people's will would indicate a conviction on his part that this is the policy already decided on in certain capitals of the United Nations. What part the peregrinations of Archbishop Spellman may have played in forming this judgment belongs to the mystery that still surrounds that most interesting mission.

In his paternal advice to the underground to behave with moderation and not to follow false leaders the Pope reveals the chief objective of Vatican policy—to limit the action of the forces of resistance. The underground is all right as an auxiliary of the military occupation. While the armies of liberation are landing and in the first encounters with the enemy, the underground can render necessary services, but it should by no means claim the right to outlive its usefulness. As soon as the military men have the situation in hand, the underground votes thanks for their arrival—and disappears.

In some degree this has been the spirit in which the officials of the United Nations, from the beginning, have

approached the underground. It has been looked upon as a valuable adjunct to the intelligence services and as a vehicle for anti-Axis propaganda, never as the political expression of the reawakening of the people. The Pope knows better. He sees in the underground an irreconcilable enemy of fascism, hostile to any intermediate situation, ready to make good the Roosevelt promise to liquidate all forms of "totalitarian tyranny." Recognizing the important part played by the Catholic masses in the underground, His Holiness now tries to draw them out of a dangerous alliance which tomorrow may defy even the efforts of the United Nations to prevent things in Europe from swinging too far to the left.

Reaction has found its slogan: "Order and discipline must preside over the peace." It is not a new one. The statesmen gathered at the Congress of Vienna repeated the same words to one another in the decisive sessions, and they repeated them to their mistresses when those intriguing ladies, through their flirtations, threatened to disrupt the harmony among the powers shaping the Holy Alliance. The slogan is not new. The only things new today are the situation that faces us and the technique that promises to be applied to it. The situation has a potential explosiveness corresponding to the sufferings the people have had to endure. In the occupied countries each village is a powder keg. Hate is not directed simply against the invader. It extends, perhaps with even greater virulence, against those who have collaborated with the invader, whether from conviction or fear. That, on the local level. On the national level we find the entire people eager to rebuild the country, but to rebuild it according to political, economic, and social patterns different from those which produced the collapse.

Everyone knows that his present misery is due to fascism. But the record of weakness toward the aggressors, of temporizing with the dictators, of internal corruption, of unlimited domination by big business—this has not been forgotten either. Europe is in suspense, awaiting a profound change, a change of centuries in its way of life. Wise friends advise us not to frighten the people in this country with the word "revolution." Let us be amiable. Let us use a less alarming expression and call it "elimination of obstacles." What nobody can dispute is that the peoples of Europe are ready to rise. They may astonish the rest of the world by their vitality.

Now about the technique. If one is to judge by the methods so far used, the reactionaries totally misunderstand the spirit of peoples which have been subjected

for years to fascist domination. They apparently believe that a combination of a strong hand and gentleness, of occupation armies followed by shipments of food, will be all that is necessary to control the masses according to plan. There is something pathetic in the enthusiasm and noble eagerness with which thousands of Americans are preparing to serve as administrators for the United Nations. A good number of them come from the universities, or the liberal professions. They have had hardly more political experience than what they have gained by voting in the elections and participating in the enviable comforts of American democratic life. Few have had any direct contact with labor. Few have seen a crowd of desperate men and women enraged by humiliations, injustice, and persecution. They do not know what a country is like which knows it has been betrayed. One can imagine one of these future administrators solemnly performing his duties in Marseilles when the French men and women have gone into the streets to get the Vichyites—the good preacher of democracy, trained for sober functions of government, trying to hold back the mob! His role will be pathetic unless behind him stands someone who is ready, in the name of freedom, to give the order to fire. And that would be worse.

If the war had been understood from the beginning as a war against fascism, the approach to the problem of maintaining order would have been quite different. Many mistakes and contradictions which may well prevent the heads of the United Nations from exercising moral authority in Europe would have been avoided. Had the war been conceived of as a struggle against fascism, no one would have thought of reproaching General de Gaulle for his insistence on removing fascist-minded officers from the French army in North Africa. His policy would have been the policy of the United Nations. Instead, every success he has achieved in the French Committee of National Liberation has appeared as an American diplomatic defeat, while every American victory, such as was scored last week when De Gaulle was finally forced to yield in his effort to purge the army, becomes an actual defeat for the United Nations. Skepticism about all the pledges of freedom and self-determination must inevitably overwhelm the people of Europe when they see that in North Africa the policy of compromise, of a "negotiated peace" between the fascist and anti-fascist forces, is again having its way.

As the war is being waged in the political field, with reaction growing stronger and stronger every day, with the authority of the United Nations as champions of freedom endangered by their own mistakes, the best thing that can be hoped for is that the masses may be left to settle their own account with fascism and to gather around their chosen leaders.

In any case, in the conflict that threatens to arise be-

tween the peoples of Europe determined to change the order existing previous to 1938 and those elements in the United Nations which are set upon salvaging as much as possible of that order, the Vatican hardly seems the best authority to intervene. Its record during recent years—its silence about China and Czechoslovakia and Austria, its belligerency against the people of Spain—has not increased its reputation and influence among the free men of Europe.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AMONG the German troops in Tunisia was the 334th infantry division. Its commander was a Major General Eder. On April 18, when the final struggle had begun but had not yet reached its climax, General Eder issued to his officers an order which may be considered a historical document. The text, with other papers from divisional headquarters, fell into the hands of the English. It is of interest for the light it throws on the German collapse.

The General's order affirmed that in recent days officers and non-commissioned officers had repeatedly urged their men to throw down their weapons and allow themselves to be taken prisoner. They had done this even when the situation was "as yet in no way hopeless." Those officers should not imagine that because they are prisoners they will escape the consequences of such "disgraceful behavior." "The severest consequences will be experienced by their families now and by them personally after the war." The order enjoined all commanders to keep a watchful eye out for any sign of cowardice or neglect of duty in officers and non-coms, and if they discovered anything of the kind, to proceed against it "with the most extreme brutality."

The picture of demoralization that emerges from this order explains much that happened later. When the central authorities at Berlin learned of such proceedings in Tunisia, they must have been seized by panic, for three days after the order was issued they acted with what may be in truth described as "extreme brutality," though perhaps the brutality was not actually as great as it seems. The *Reichsgesetzblatt* of April 21 promulgated a law that with a stroke of the pen removed all limitations on military punishments and empowered the military courts to impose any penalty they chose.

Against persons subject to the military penal code who are guilty of an offense against military discipline or against the postulates of military courage, penalties more severe than those prescribed by existing laws may be imposed, including forced labor for life or the death penalty, if this is deemed necessary to maintain discipline or insure the safety of the troops.

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The same applies to offenses which particularly prejudice the conduct of the war or the security of the Reich, if according to sound popular belief the legal penalties are not sufficient punishment for the deed.

It is hard to understand what the war lords had in mind when they issued this singular decree. "Cowardice in the face of the enemy" was the worst of all crimes in the regular military code and was punishable with death. The law could not be made more severe. In any case, the hasty attempt to check the demoralization that was setting in on the Tunisian battlefields by means of superdraconian threats availed nothing.

The discomforts resulting from the scarcity of household goods in Germany are illustrated by an order issued by the Burgomaster of Stuttgart in the second week of June. In spite of the shortage of lodgings, the order said, an increasing number of rooms in hotels and boarding houses are unrented. According to the proprietors, the reason is their inability to supply bed linen for these rooms. Nevertheless, the Burgomaster continued, from now on every bed must be rented. If there is no bed linen, table linen must be used. When that is gone, the guests must be told to bring their own sheets—in which case 10 per cent shall be taken off the regular price of the room.

For the last four months the city of Königsberg in Prussia has had a barter shop, the first in Germany. And according to the D. N. B. report, it has had great success. Used articles which can no longer be found in stores are brought to the shop and exchanged for other articles elsewhere unobtainable. An unneeded flatiron, for instance, is exchanged for a saucepan, or a carpet for a mattress. The value of the various articles is appraised by merchandising experts at the shop. Only the difference in the worth of two things exchanged, plus a fee for the service, is paid in cash. In the four months since the shop was established 4,500 transactions have been concluded.

From Axis Sources

The Spanish Trade System

THE final computation of the value of Spanish trade in 1942 shows a credit of 16,500,000 gold pesetas. This compares with 1941's deficit of 35,000,000 gold pesetas. Official circles consider the change a sign of the tremendous success of the Spanish trade system. Argentina was the biggest exporter to Spain in 1941, but in 1942 Germany took first place. Spain's imports from Germany increased in value from 51,000,000 to 117,000,000 gold pesetas. Germany is still the biggest purchaser of Spain's exports, although its own exports to Spain have decreased slightly this year.—*Berlin short-wave broadcast to North America.*

Not Peace but a Sword

A woman who identified herself as an Indian spoke to India on the Rome radio on June 20 and interpreted General Wavell's appointment as Viceroy as a sign that India "has become too hot for the British." She said: "Prepare to forget the doctrine of non-violence which for so many years has made eunuchs and women of you. Today England, to keep you in subjection, puts a man of the sword on India's throne. You, my brothers, get rid of the spinning-wheel that has made you like women, and grasp the sword."

The same broadcast carried a Domei account of an interview in Tokyo with Subhas Chandra Bose, former Indian Congress Party leader, who has heretofore done his propagandizing from Berlin. Bose was quoted as saying that "civil disobedience cannot of itself expel the British government, which is supported by bayonets. We also must make use of bayonets." He "praised Hitler and Mussolini" for aiding Indian nationalists, Rome reported, and "stated that Tojo takes a deep interest in India."—*C. B. S. short-wave listening station.*

The Battle of the Ruhr

Although many workers in the west [of Germany] do not have beds of their own any longer, and have to find some sort of makeshift arrangement for getting their sleep, work is continuing. The wives of these workers are no longer able to prepare the meals for their families in their own kitchens. They eat in community kitchens, but work is continuing. Many shopkeepers have been bombed out, and wares are now sold in the open or are distributed by the party. The main thing, however, is that work is continuing. At night the inhabitants of the Ruhr spend many hours in their cellars while British and American bombers are circling overhead. After the raid is over, they put out the fires, dig up any neighbors who may be buried under the ruins of their houses, and clean up the streets. Next morning work is resumed as usual. That is the Battle of the Ruhr.—*Berlin short-wave broadcast to Asia.*

Axis Paradise

We in Axis countries are not wasting the energies of the nation with petty follies. We have no presidential or other elections; we have no personal ambitions of so-called political leaders; we have no party squabbles to sap the stamina of the country. We have no working classes which must fight against capitalist exploitation in order to obtain halfway decent living conditions. Our workers are not compelled to live in slums and are not forced to join anti-God leagues as they are in the Bolshevik paradise. The greatest psychological mistake made by our enemies is the so-called war of nerves. Threats do not work, and the accompanying bombing raids against our civilian population have aroused hatred and contempt for the enemy. As for the promises, every Italian remembers what happened to a victorious Italy after the last war. Every Italian knows that the promises made so lavishly at that time were never kept by the nations which were Italy's allies then and are its enemies today. He knows that if that happened to a victorious Italy, a defeated Italy would fare still worse.—*Rome short-wave broadcast to England.*

BOOKS and the ARTS

GRAHAM GREENE

BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

THREE was something about a fête which drew Arthur Rowe irresistibly . . . called him like innocence." We meet him in blitzed and gutted London, stumbling on a charity bazaar in a Bloomsbury square, a man alone and a murderer, but fearless because he has made a friend of his guilt: when he gave his wife the poison that released her from the suffering he pitied he did not ask her consent; "he could never tell whether she might not have preferred any sort of life to death." A fortune-teller slips him, mistakenly, the password by which he wins a cake in the bazaar's raffle. But there are others who want it and the thing concealed in its heart. Visited that night in his shabby room by a cripple, Rowe has barely tasted the hyoscine in his tea when out of a droning sky a bomb drops, explodes the house, and blows him and us into a dream of horrors—man-hunt, spies, sabotage, amnesia, murders, and suicides: the latest "entertainment" of Graham Greene.

We enter the familiar phantasm of our age, and Greene's expert evocation of it through eleven novels—of which "The Ministry of Fear" is the latest*—has justly won him the title of "the Auden of the modern thriller." Here again is the haunted England of *l'entre deux guerres*, the European nightmare of corruption and doom, a *Blick ins Chaos* where

taut with apprehensive dreads
The sleepless guests of Europe lay
Wishing the centuries away,
And the low mutter of their vows
Went echoing through her haunted house,
As on the verge of happening
There crouched the presence of The Thing.

The fustian stage sets of Oppenheim, Chambers, and Wallace are gone with their earlier innocent day. We are in a cosmos whose fabulous realities have terribly condensed out of contemporary legend and prophecy—the portentous journalism of Tabouis, Thompson, Sheean, Gunther, and the apotheosis of foreign correspondence; the films of Lang, Murnau, Renoir, and Hitchcock; the Gothic fables of Ambler, Hammett, and Simenon; the putsches, pogroms, marches, and mobilizations that have mounted to catastrophe in the present moment of our lives. Its synthetic thrills and archaic brutality are ruses of melodrama no longer. Guilt pervades all life; all of us are trying to discover how we entered the nightmare, by what treachery we were betrayed to the howling storm of history. "Mother, please listen to me," cries Rowe to a mother who is dead; "I've killed my wife and the police want me." . . . "My little boy couldn't kill anyone":

His mother smiled at him in a scared way but let him talk: he was the master of the dream now. He said, "I'm wanted for a murder I didn't do. People want to kill me

* "The Ministry of Fear: An Entertainment," by Graham Greene. Viking Press. \$2.50.

because I know too much. I'm hiding underground, and up above the Germans are methodically smashing London to bits all round me. You remember St. Clements—the bells of St. Clements. They've smashed that—St. James's Piccadilly, the Burlington Arcade, Garland's Hotel where we stayed for the pantomime, Maples, and John Lewis. It sounds like a thriller, doesn't it?—but the thrillers are like life . . . it's what we've all made of the world since you died. I'm your little Arthur who wouldn't hurt a beetle and I'm a murderer too. The world has been remade by William Le Queux."

Every age has its aesthetic of crime and horror, its attempt to give form to its special psychic or neurotic climate. No age has imposed greater handicaps on the effort than ours. Crime has gone beyond Addison's "chink in the armor" of civilized society; it has become the symptom of a radical lesion in the stamina of humanity. The hot violence of the Elizabethans is as different from the cold brutality of Hitlerian Europe, the heroic sin in Aeschylus or Webster from the squalid and endemic degeneracy in Céline or Miller, the universal proportions of Greek or Shakespearean wrong from the calculating gratuity of Gide's aesthetic murderers, as the worth at which the individual life was held in those times from its worthlessness in ours. A criminal takes his dignity from his defiance of the intelligence or merit that surrounds him, from the test his act imposes on the human community. He becomes trivial when that measure is denied him. So the modern thriller is permitted its prodigies of contrivance and holocausts of death at the cost of becoming a bore. So movie audiences fidget restlessly through "Desert Victory," waiting to be overwhelmed by the edifying bilge of "Random Harvest." The thrill-habit, fed by novels, newsreels, and events, has competed successfully with gin, drugs, and aspirin, and doped the moral nerve of a generation.

The hardship this imposes on the artist is obvious. When felony, by becoming political, becomes impersonal; when the *acte gratuit* elicits not only secret but public heroism, its dramatist faces the baffling task of restoring to his readers their lost instinct of values, the sense of human worth. It is not enough that the thriller become psychic: Freudian behavior patterns have become as much an open commodity and stock property as spy rings and torture chambers were a generation ago. It must become moral as well.

The Victorian *frisson* of crime was all the choicer for the rigor of propriety and sentiment that hedged it in. Dickens's terrors are enhanced less by his rhetoric than by his coziness. The reversion to criminality in Dostoevski takes place in a ramifying hierarchy of authority—family life, social caste, political and religious bureaucracy, czarist militarism and repression. The horror of "The Turn of the Screw" is framed by the severest decorum, taste, and inhibition. James—like Conrad, Gide, and Mann—knew the enchantment of crime, but he also knew its artistic conditions. "Everything you may further do will be grist to my imaginative mill," he wrote

William Roughead in thanks for a book of the latter's criminal histories: "I'm not sure I enter into such matters best when they are very archaic or remote from our familiarities, for then the testimony to manners and morals is rather blurred for me by the *whole* barbarism. . . . The thrilling in the comparatively modern much appeals to me—for there the special manners and morals become queerly disclosed. . . . Then do go back to the dear old human and sociable murders and adulteries and forgeries in which we are so agreeably at home." The admonition might have served as the cue for Graham Greene's talent.

Greene, facing a "whole barbarism" equal to anything in history, has undertaken to redeem that dilapidation from the stupefying mechanism and in consequence to which modern terrorism has reduced it. Arthur Calder-Marshall has rightly said in *Horizon* that "few living English novelists derive more material from the daily newspaper than Graham Greene." His *mise-en-scène* includes the Nazi underground and fifth column ("The Confidential Agent," "The Ministry of Fear"), organized Marxism torn by schisms and betrayals ("It's a Battlefield"), Kruger ("England Made Me"), Zaharoff ("This Gun for Hire"), the English race-track gangs ("Brighton Rock"), the Mexican church suppression ("The Labyrinthine Ways"), and his "Orient Express" is the same train we've traveled on from "Shanghai Express" to "Night Train" and "The Lady Vanishes." But where once—in James, Conrad, Dostoevski, Dickens, Defoe, or the Elizabethans—it was society, state, kingdom, world, or the universe itself that supplied the presiding order of law or justice, it is now the isolated, betrayed, and indestructible integrity of the individual life that furnishes that measure. Humanity, having contrived a world of mindless and psychotic brutality, reverts to the atom of the lonely man. Marked, hunted, Ishmaelite, or condemned, he may work for evil or for good, but it is his passion for moral identity that provides the nexus of values in a world that has reverted to anarchy. His lineage is familiar—Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Mitya; Conrad's Jim, Heyst, and Razumov; Mann's Krull and Gide's Lafcadio; Hesse's Steppenwolf and, immediately, Kafka's K. He appears in every Greene novel—as hero in Drover, Dr. Czinner, the nameless D.; as pariah or renegade in Raven, Farrant, Rowe, and the whiskey priest of "The Labyrinthine Ways"; as the incarnation of pure malevolence in Pinkie, the boy gangster and murderer of "Brighton Rock."

The plot that involves him is fairly constant; "Brighton Rock" presents it in archetype. Its conflict rests on a basic dualism, saved from mere mechanism by Greene's fertility in invention and complex insight, but radical in its antithesis of forces. Pinkie is a believing Catholic, knows hell as a reality, and accepts his damnation; *corruptio optimi pessima* is the last faith left him to live or die by. Ida Arnold, the full-blown, life-loving tart whose casual lover the gang has killed, sets out to track him down: "unregenerate, a specimen of the 'natural man,' coarsely amiable, basically kind, the most dangerous enemy to religion." She pursues him with ruthless and deadly intention, corners him, sees him killed. The boy is sped to his damnation and Ida triumphs. ("God doesn't mind a bit of human nature. . . . I know the difference between Right and Wrong.") The hostility is crucial; it appears in all Greene's mature books—Mather the detective

against Raven the assassin ("This Gun for Hire"), the Inspector against Drover ("It's a Battlefield"), the Communist lieutenant of police, accompanied by the *mestizo* who acts as nemesis, against the hunted, shameless, renegade priest in "The Labyrinthine Ways," trailing his desecrated sanctity through the hovels and jungles of the Mexican state, yet persisting in his office of grace and so embracing the doom that pursues him. A recent critic in the *New Statesman* put the case clearly: "Mr. Greene is a Catholic, and his novel 'Brighton Rock' betrays a misanthropic, almost Jansenist, contempt for the virtues that do not spring from grace."

It is this grace that operates as the instrument which makes palpable its necessary enemy, Evil—and it is by the evil that materializes out of vice, crime, and nightmare in his books that Greene joins a distinguished company: the same evil works behind the psychic riddle in "The Turn of the Screw" and behind the squalid violence of Conrad's "The Secret Agent," that parent classic in this field of fiction, which appeared in 1907 and established the kind of novel that Greene and his generation have carried to such exorbitant lengths. To fix and objectify it, to extricate it from the relativity of abstractions—abstract justice, impersonal humanitarianism, pity, right and wrong, good and bad—is the ultimate motive of Greene's work. His pursuit of it carried him among the totems and horrors of coastal Africa, which he conjures in "Journey Without Maps"—his descent to the heart of darkness:

It isn't a gain to have turned the witch or the masked secret dancer, the sense of supernatural evil, into the small human viciousness of the thin distinguished military gray head in Kensington Gardens with the soft lips and the eye which dwelt with dull luster on girls and boys of a certain age. . . . They are not, after all, so far from the central darkness. . . . When one sees to what unhappiness, to what peril of extinction centuries of cerebration have brought us, one sometimes has a curiosity to discover if one can from what we have come, to recall at which point we went astray.

(An echo sounds here from Eliot on Baudelaire:

So far as we are human, what we do must be either evil or good; so far as we do evil or good we are human; and it is better, in a paradoxical way, to do evil than to do nothing: at least, we exist. It is true to say that the glory of man is his capacity for salvation; it is also true to say that his glory is his capacity for damnation. The worst that can be said of most of our malefactors, from statesmen to thieves, is that they are not men enough to be damned.)

Greene's progress in his task has not escaped the pitfalls of his compromise with popularity. His expert contrivance often descends to sleight-of-hand; the surrealism of his action and atmosphere easily results in efflorescences of sheer conjuring; the machinery of the thriller—chases, coincidences, exploding surprises—can collapse into demented catastrophe. And Greene drives his philosophical ambition hard. His plots flit with absolutes—a kind of moral *vis inertiae*—of social and emotional realities that reappear in the stock humors to which his characters and their psychic pathology often reduce. His great gifts in dialogue, characterization, marginal commentary, and hallucinated scenery run frequently to exorbitance through the uncanny facility which is the danger of his special kind of brilliance.

But there is no question that a major purpose works behind his popular or cinematic effects. He uses horror for what it has signified in every age—Elizabethan, Gothic, romantic, or Victorian—as a medium for exploring the evasions, fears, and regressive panic that may drag us back from the ascendancy of reason or pride to infantilism and brutality, but must always, in any age, be met and faced if salvation is to miss the curse of presumption. "The abyss destroys; the abyss exalts; descend that you may be saved. The enemy we conquer is the enemy we embrace and love." The identity Greene's heroes pursue is the selfhood of a conscience implicated in the full mystery and terror of their natures; if the "destructive element" engulfs them, it is their resisting passion for a spiritual destiny that stains and brightens the flood. And it is because he sustains a dialectic between the oblivion of naturalism and the absolute tests of moral selfhood that Greene has brought about one of the most promising collaborations between realism and spirituality that have recently appeared in fiction, saving his work as much from the squashy hocus-pocus or mechanical contrivance of the common thriller as from the didactic sanctimony of conventional religiosity. In at least three of his books—"It's a Battlefield," "Brighton Rock," and "The Labyrinthine Ways"—he may claim the ancestry of James, Conrad, and Joyce, and the company of men like Kafka, Auden, and Mauriac. He stands at the threshold of major fiction, a searching, irresistible talent, and a true magician in the words and spells of authentic drama. He has found an instrument for probing the temper and tragedy of his age, the perversions and fears that have betrayed it, and the stricken weathers of its soul. It only remains for him to surmount its distractions and negative appeals more decisively to stand unrivaled as a novelist in the English generation to which history and his high gift of consciousness have committed him.

Architecture of Brazil

BRAZIL BUILDS: ARCHITECTURE NEW AND OLD, 1652-1942. By Philip L. Goodwin. Photographs by G. E. Kidder Smith. The Museum of Modern Art. \$5.

AROUND 1930 Frank Lloyd Wright came back from Brazil speaking so extravagantly of Rio de Janeiro that no one paid much attention to him. In 1936 Le Corbusier was there, frankly fascinated by its problems and its possibilities. Lately people who listen to such interpreters of pan-American culture as Domingo Santa Cruz and Henriquez Ureña might have noted, without understanding it, the opinion that "in exploring the possibilities of the city and its architecture Brazil has gone even farther than North America." Now at last the Museum of Modern Art has made it possible for the average citizen to see what Brazil is building, and to judge what contribution it makes to "American" architecture.

A book on architecture is always more than a mere technical or aesthetic study; it is the evidence for cultural history. You can look at a square in Rio de Janeiro and read the story of Brazil, as a geologist reads the history of a mountain from its exposed strata. First came the Portuguese, bringing the long Mediterranean tradition, with its exotic overtones of

Eastern empire. Thanks to them, Brazil can show a store of colonial architecture of extraordinary splendor and variety. Then there was Paris, the new Athens, which deposited opera house and presidential palace in the nineteenth century. And finally—always slower than one would expect—a new wind blowing down the continent brings a new architecture. For North Americans the interesting fact about this history is its similarity to our own. We have been hardly less colonial than the Brazilians, and the cultural succession of the mother-country, the classical tradition, nineteenth-century France, and finally the German and French reformers in architecture is unanimous.

What we like to think of as the American spirit, however, is an independent, creative experimentation with the possibilities of solving any particular problem. Not necessarily anti-traditional, a New World should yet take nothing for granted, seeking not novelty for its own sake but new forms, suitable to new materials, for new purposes. It is from this point of view that the new architecture in Brazil is striking. Rio de Janeiro, in its setting of fantastic beauty, is like no other city in the world. It has no frosts and no earthquakes; there is a fairly predictable rainfall; winds and breezes are pretty regular; and there is an intense tropical sun, whose angle is all but invariable. The enthusiasm and inventiveness with which the architects of Brazil have dealt with this particular set of conditions cannot be too highly praised. Their outdoor rooms and roofed gardens, the blank walls to the sun and free glass on the shady side, the galleries and loggias and open stairways are not merely handsome; they are comfortable. Two examples of this ingenuity stand out: the devices for interrupting direct sunlight—particularly on the Ministry of Education and Health or the Brazilian Press Building—and the Raul Vidal school at Niteroi, stilted up to leave the view and breeze open, with shaded passages and playgrounds below. For such achievements as these, one feels, not only reinforced concrete but the mind of man itself was intended.

It is only just to balance this enthusiasm by the observation that most of Brazil is still badly housed, that most of the country is without schools or hospitals of any sort, and that outside the few cities represented here functionalism has hardly been heard of. In short, the architects are ahead of the social planners; they ought to be set to work on small hospitals for provincial towns, day nurseries, community centers, and subsistence housing for the people who now live between banana thatch and bamboo floor. Brazil needs all these things desperately, needs them rather more than casinos and hotels. Looking at the new Ministry of Education and Health, however, one expects Brazil to proceed to these problems: one cannot but have faith in a country which produces such a public building instead of a Roman temple.

The fact that this is the first book in the three hundred years of our common history to give North Americans an idea of Brazilian architecture would, in itself, make this volume impressive. Here is the tangible evidence that there are other Americas worthy of our curiosity and our interest. Tables of statistics, anecdotes of travel, and the opinions of philosophers are all very well; but here you can see it with your own eyes. The Museum of Modern Art, Philip Goodwin, and Kidder Smith cannot be too warmly commended

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for the job they have done. Typographically, clarity has been somewhat sacrificed to a graceful solution of the bilingual problem—one finds oneself reading on through the English into the Portuguese repetition of the text. The text, to be sure, is on the shallow side, especially the historical section, which offers little to clarify our ignorance of Portuguese styles and terminology. But the photographs are of permanent value—well chosen, interesting in detail, and technically excellent. Once again the museum has demonstrated that a catalogue can be made both useful to the expert and a pleasure to the casual. To those of us who are interested in the other Americas it is a model of what might be done for every country below the Rio Grande.

ELIZABETH WILDER

The Confederate Command

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. Volume II: CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANCELLORSVILLE. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

D. FREEMAN'S promised three volumes seem likely to become at least four, for in 712 pages he carries his story forward only ten months. In order to achieve his purpose of describing the deeds and weighing the military worth of Lee's principal subordinates he has found it impossible to avoid rewriting the history of the Army of Northern Virginia. But no student of the Civil War will complain, for if Dr. Freeman covers old ground he views it from a new angle and with a fresh eye. And while his treatment is minutely detailed, the weight of his scholarship is lightened by consistent good writing and a sense of humor.

In this volume Stonewall Jackson is again the outstanding figure. He was no longer conducting a semi-independent command but operating directly under the eye of Lee and proving that he could "work in harness." His judgment was not, Dr. Freeman shows, always unerring, but he grew in military stature up to the fatal moment in the Wilderness. His chief deficiency was in tact—a common failing among generals—and all Lee's firm diplomacy was needed to handle the long feud between him and Powell Hill. Dr. Freeman's account of this squabble is both full and fair.

After Jackson the most noteworthy of the leaders are perhaps Longstreet, Stuart, and Early, whose rising reputations we follow in this volume. But we are introduced, in addition, to a host of officers high and low, some of whom failed, and faded out of the picture, while others advanced rapidly to greater and greater responsibility. Constant attrition of the officer corps made for speedy promotion. After each great battle the commander-in-chief had the heavy task of finding new heads for divisions and brigades—a task made the more burdensome because he had to take into account state and professional rivalries as well as military qualities. After Sharpsburg, where three generals were killed and five incapacitated, there was "a crisis in command" which was solved with difficulty and only partial success. A few months later, when the Wilderness had taken its toll, the crisis was renewed, and in Dr. Freeman's words, "the end of the file was reached. . . . The school of combat did not graduate

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enough men to make good the casualties of instruction. Command, which had always been an adventure, became after Chancellorsville a gamble against lengthening odds." One wonders whether the *Wehrmacht's* very heavy losses in general officers during the past year are posing the same problem to the German high command.

The one serious complaint to be made against Dr. Freeman's work concerns its maps. True, there are plenty of them, but they might well have been fewer and better. For instance, there are as many as eleven illustrating various phases of the battles around Chancellorsville but none which makes clear the whole campaign and the relation of the different "fronts" to each other. In too many cases the maps give little or no information about the physical nature of the terrain and omit topographical features which are mentioned in the text as strategically significant. We can agree that the mapping of anything as fluid as a battle presents a difficult problem. Any attempt to show the disposition of troops must necessarily be a snapshot picturing merely one moment. But for this very reason the reader needs a really detailed map of the ground so that he can trace for himself the moves and counter-moves.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Tomorrow's Problems

ECONOMIC FREEDOM: A DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM.

By Charles E. Noyes. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

THE author of this book puts his finger on the burning problems of tomorrow and gets his finger slightly burned. He gives the impression of some awareness of discomfort, coupled with an admirable self-sacrifice and even bravery in coming out frankly with the most unpopular truths when he finds it necessary, as when he points out that any serious improvement in our distribution of income must come not from the very rich but from the comfortable middle classes. Even though fascinated by the efficiencies and advantages of planning, he warns against its dangers and makes abundantly clear that it is but a means for greater efficiency that can only too easily become an end in itself. He is concerned about the dangers of too great a centralization of authority and makes an earnest and convincing plea for greater interest in local government as an education essential for the fruitful working of real democracy.

He touches on all the most disturbing problems—the relation between free enterprise and democracy, the problems of money and credit, of private and public debt, of saving and investment, of management and government, and of international economic relations.

Throughout the treatment an economist—and perhaps it was a little unfair to give this book to an economist to review—feels that though the instincts are right the analysis is inadequate and the less general conclusions frequently incorrect. Thus not only is much of the orthodox economics under attack rather out of date, but the criticisms themselves are similarly dated and inconclusive. In combating the more extreme votaries of "sound finance," who would sacrifice prosperity to the principle of balancing the budget, the unwarranted concession is made that flexible prices would

render "sound finance" innocuous. Although Mr. Noyes sees that the size of the national debt does not really matter, he concedes that the interest must be paid out of current taxes, not noticing that if the interest is borrowed the only effect is a greater national debt, which does not matter. Yet in spite of such inelegancies in the analysis the conclusions are very close to the "functional finance" that would result from a complete disregard of the traditional inhibitions.

Another example of inadequate analysis is the chapter on The Burden of Private Debt, in which private debt is blamed for all the evil effects of imperfect competition. It is proposed that private investors should be prevented from establishing perpetual claims on society and that this be achieved by enforcing the amortization of all investments in a corporation in, say, twenty years. Although there are good arguments in favor of some such provision—for example, the subjection of reinvestment to the test of the market, or the strengthening of the control by owners over managers—it is hard to see how such a measure would prevent permanent fortunes; rather it would handicap small fortunes as against large ones, which could hire experts to reinvest the released funds. This proposal seems to stem from an inadequate appreciation of the economic functions of capital and interest in a society which is not infinitely rich in capital. A related confusion appears when private enterprise is simultaneously accused of (a) too little investment out of tenderness for the capital values, belonging to the same corporation, that would be destroyed by the new investment, and (b) too much investment because of lack of concern for the capital values of other corporations, in the preservation of which capital values, it is wrongly claimed, society has a vested interest. An attempt to square this circle by a reference to the over-building of new war plants with government funds while the conversion of existing plants to war production was resisted raises other serious problems but does not resolve this contradiction.

Throughout the book the economist is irritated by an underestimation of the part played by the price mechanism in the efficient running of the economy and by a continual rejection of economics instead of an attempt to harness it to our social ideals. This is especially conspicuous in the proposal that international trade be handed over to international marketing organizations for the various commodities, with subsidies for imports and exports to enable high-wage countries to compete with low-wage countries. This seems to be based on a failure to see that a free movement of the foreign exchanges performs all these functions without the machinery of subsidies and commodity boards, with its inevitably accompanying political pressures, against which Mr. Noyes himself warns us.

But in spite of all these and many other annoyances, Mr. Noyes's more important conclusions are usually sound. Even though the economist is not satisfied with the economic analysis, in particular missing the urgently needed application of recent developments in the theory of employment and the theory of monopolistic or imperfect competition, and even though the political scientist and the specialist in administration problems may find fault with the way their special fields are treated, there remains the valuable emphasis on the coordination of all these fields; so that, as in the famous

July 3, 1943

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mystery of the influence of Marx, the whole is better than the parts. Mr. Noyes is to be commended for a recognition of the fundamental problems, for bravely groping toward their solution—with remarkable success, considering the somewhat unnecessary darkness—and for faithfully following his own precept to approach the problems "with a deep love for the dignity of human beings."

ABBA P. LERNER

Education on Post-War Problems

WARTIME FACTS AND POSTWAR PROBLEMS. A Study and Discussion Manual. Edited by Evans Clark. The Twentieth Century Fund. 50 cents.

TO DATE most post-war literature has been directed, consciously or unconsciously, to the small group of experts who are already in agreement on major policies. The much larger section of the general public that is most susceptible to isolationist propaganda has been neglected. Yet this is the group that was primarily responsible for the failure of the last peace and bears the closest watching today. It is they who are most in need both of information and of the regimen of orderly thinking on post-war issues. In an effort to meet this need the Twentieth Century Fund has prepared a brief handbook for use by discussion groups. The plan is somewhat novel. A short and rather "popular" summary of the "facts" on such questions as international relations, business, agriculture, labor, finance, health, housing, and education is accompanied by a series of questions designed to provoke thought and discussion and by running references to a comprehensive body of material readily available.

The text is very simply written, but the questions, unfortunately, seem to have been prepared with an eye rather to scholarly comprehensiveness than to the background of any of the groups likely to need such a discussion aid. Except for very superior groups, or groups with extraordinarily able leadership, the result is more likely to be a pooling of ignorance than fruitful discussion. One has the feeling that too many experts were consulted about the preparation of the book, and that the suggestions of all of them were incorporated without regard to the average person's capacity for assimilation. To cite but one example: readers are asked, "What kinds of demands for short- or long-term credit and investment . . . will come from other countries" after the war, and how these can be met? There is no hint of the significance of this question in terms that would mean anything to John Q. Citizen.

If the task of education for the post-war period is to be adequately carried out, materials will obviously have to be prepared for groups at many levels. It is natural that a start should be made at the top, and for groups at this level the Twentieth Century Fund manual will be extremely useful. But the time may be short, and it is to be hoped that someone is at work on a much simpler and more limited handbook for the average adult group. For a few simple truths driven into the minds of tens of thousands of men and women may be vastly more important in affecting post-war policy than a broader understanding limited to a few.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Art Notes

MODERN ARTISTS. At the Matisse Gallery, 41 East Fifty-seventh Street, until July 31.

This is an exhibition of little pictures by big names, little in more than one sense, for very few of these artists are at their best. Almost every well-known name is here. Picasso, Matisse, Modigliani have drawings; there are the familiar "Ascot Race Course" of Dufy and a Pascin water color of three Negroes called "New Orleans"; Laurens shows a conventionally boring female figure, Chagall an ugly crucifixion; Tamayo and Bores illustrate the darkness that is Mexico, while Marie Laurencin indicates the twilight that is hers. There is an interesting Roualt, "Standing Figure," less religious and royal than his usual subject, a Picasso-like Lam, and an enchanting Carrington, "La Dame Ovale." An unusually satisfactory Lurçat is "L'Arménienne." This is the silly summer season when galleries dust off their unsold pictures, lower the prices, and call it a retrospective exhibition of the past year. The Matisse Gallery is fortunate in having rather better pictures rather better hung than most.

OILS BY PERLS ARTISTS. At the Perls Gallery, 32 East Fifty-eighth Street, until July 31.

Darrel Austin's tiresome charm pervades this gallery as always. The first picture by Mr. Austin that one sees reveals a new and mysterious world of green marshes and jungles inhabited by large cats with enormous incandescent eyes; at the third or fourth picture his secret seems less of a mystery and more of a trick. After this it becomes, "Oh, yes, Darrel Austin." Most of the other artists in this show have the same wispy charm, only less of it—Carol Blanchard, Karl Priet, and Frederick Haucke, whose imagination is reinforced by a hideously solid technique. There is also a dull Utrillo, an early Vlaminck, and a small but fine Roualt.

JEAN CONNOLLY

New EARLY Deadlines for Nation Advertising

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MUSIC

IT WAS in 1931 that Gershwin's Second Rhapsody, originally called "Rhapsody in Rivets," led me to reflect on the fallacious notion that since American life included jazz and riveting, the music which "expresses" this life also had to include them.

This led me to the Russian parallel. A review in the Moscow *News* of a Suite from Shostakovich's "Golden Age" had criticized him for not "utilizing in the service of the revolution and socialist construction all the mastery and technique which have been inherited from the old musical culture" and for failing "to affirm Soviet musical ideology"; and the question arose, what precisely was meant by utilizing musical technique in the service of the revolution and socialist construction, or by affirming Soviet musical ideology? I could see how literature might serve the revolution and socialist construction by using them as its material—since it must refer to phenomena of the physical world; and I could see how a song might do so through its words, a ballet through its action. But not music, or at any rate not the music which conveyed only states of feeling, and which, since it did not refer to the physical world, did not contain within itself anything that could be socialistic or capitalistic. The one kind of music that did refer to the physical Russian scene was music like Mossolov's "Iron Foundry"; but this was hardly different from Honegger's "Pacific 231"; in addition it was unimportant, unsatisfying as music; and we were told by Sergei Radamsky that even the Russian workers did not like it because they heard enough noise in the factories. And Radamsky told us how the composer served socialist construction in symphonic works: he used an idiom that expressed "the Russian worker's and peasant's simplicity and directness in melody and rhythm," and in this way created "music for all and not for a few intellectuals." In other words, the worker and the peasant were not to be allowed to share the advantages of the intellectual and the artist; the intellectual and the artist were to be made to share the disadvantages of the worker and peasant.

This train of thought was brought back to my mind by Nicholas Nabokov's recent article on Shostakovich, in *Harper's*. Nabokov tells us of his first impressions of Shostakovich's early works—that they were skilful but not

particularly new or imaginative; and of his fear, when he read the score of the First Symphony, that "this synthetic and retrospective score" signalized the approach of a period when "perhaps our demand that music be primarily good in quality, new in spirit and technique, original in outlook would be subordinated to such principles as absolute and immediate comprehensibility to large masses of people and fulfillment of an educational mission, political and social." And he tells us that his fear has been realized in Shostakovich's development in the years since then, including the "two painful years of banishment from public life . . . years of 'inner self-criticism' (as the Soviet press calls it) during which he simplified his art still farther and *all* of his original musical thinking was definitely swallowed up by the 'service to the cause.'" This service has required, for example—and here Nabokov answers my original question—a "redundant, blatant, and unconvincing optimism" which takes the form of "excessive and very conventional use of major triads, tunes and cadences in major keys, all of them describing the glorious and victorious events of the present in the most emphatic and banal musical language (minor modes are used to describe the dark and gloomy days of the past)," and of "a verbose and brassy style which soon becomes dreary and monotonous." The music is now so obviously understandable that it "ceases to be an artistic language in which the adventurous human mind discovers new laws and new problems which it endeavors to solve in a new way," and that "after a while one begins to wonder if even the most uneducated masses will not soon tire of it."

I have heard it argued that the damage to Shostakovich might be a price worth paying for the social gain in the increased musical literacy achieved by having him write on the level of understanding of the masses. I should say first of all that in my opinion Shostakovich's is not a case of music which promised to develop into something good but was made bad by political pressures: it was bad and had in it the promise of continued badness; and the pressures only made it worse. But the case might have been that of a potential Bach or Beethoven or Mozart; for all we know a composer of that magnitude may have been ruined in Russia; and I contend that the musical literacy of the masses did not require any such sacrifice: if simple music was needed for simple minds and tastes there was more

than enough of it available, and no need of making the best serious composers produce blatant banalities.

I have heard it argued also that it may be good for a composer to be compelled to write for an audience—any audience, even a mass audience. It is such schematizations that lead to the ideological ferocities of Russia during the past fifteen years. One begins, that is, with a streamlined schematization which has it that a composer must function in relation to an audience if he is to function well; instead of beginning with the mixed-up realities of how a composer produces valuable music or does not produce it, wins an audience with his music or does not win it. And one ends with attempting to get the composer to produce valuable music by placing him in a relation with an audience and compelling him to compose blatant banalities for it.

If one wanted a science like mathematical physics to exist for all and not for a few intellectuals one would accomplish this by educating workers and peasants to the point where they could understand the matters which an Einstein is concerned with, not by compelling him to concern himself only with what workers and peasants can understand. Or if one wanted to make the masses literate in the subject one would not set an Einstein to writing elementary texts for them. Nor would one think it might be good for him to have to do his thinking for an audience—any audience, even a mass audience.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

LAWRENCE ROGIN is educational director of the Textile Workers' Union.

HORACE R. CAYTON is director of the Parkway Community House in Chicago, a reporter for the Chicago *Sun*, labor columnist for the Pittsburgh *Courier*, and coauthor with G. S. Mitchell of "Black Workers and the New Unions."

MICHAEL K. CLARK is an American attached to the Fighting French forces in the Middle East.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is co-editor of "A Book of English Literature," to be published by Macmillan.

ABBA P. LERNER teaches economics at the New School for Social Research.

ELIZABETH WILDER is on the staff of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress.

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Letters to the Editors

Britain and India

Dear Sirs: Dr. Vambery, in *The Nation* of June 26, asks why the Indian parties do not make a proposal to the British government for an Indian settlement. That still does not answer my question why the British don't make a move to break the Indian deadlock. The Chinese government has urged Great Britain to make such a move. Our own Administration would welcome it because an Indian settlement would hasten the victory over Japan. Mr. Churchill remains adamant.

Indian moderates have attempted to mediate. But the Viceroy has refused their requests to see Gandhi and Nehru, the imprisoned Congress leaders, without whom, of course, no Indian compromise is possible. The British government has also blocked every effort at a Hindu-Moslem agreement. If Dr. Vambery will look up the *Herald Tribune* of May 28, he will find an Associated Press dispatch which says that Mr. Jinnah, the president of the Moslem League, had asked Gandhi to write to him from jail giving his views on a Hindu-Moslem understanding. The British government "today denied Mohandas K. Gandhi facilities to communicate by letter with Mohammed Ali Jinnah." This is only one of many instances.

The Indian parties are agreed on what they want. All Indian parties are committed to independence from Great Britain. They do not expect it during the war, and I do not advocate the departure of the British until after the war. But the Indian parties do not believe, in view of Churchill's statements and of British acts in India, that the British propose to free India after the war.

Dr. Vambery cannot prove that there will be civil war in India if the British leave. I could quote British experts on India now in this country who say privately that the Hindus and Moslems would unite if the British quit India. An imperialist government can divide a colony as long as it wishes. That is why Gandhi has been saying that there is no hope of solving the Hindu-Moslem problem until the British depart, and that the problem can speedily be solved when the British do depart.

Incidentally, suppose a seer had said to the American Founding Fathers:

"You want independence for the thirteen colonies. But I warn you that there will be a civil war in 1861." What would the Fathers have replied? We had a civil war, Russia and China had civil wars. I think India can avoid a civil war if the outside world helps.

Dr. Vambery suggests that Ireland and South Africa enjoy more independence than many sovereign states. Yet large sections of the population in those countries want complete independence from England. India wants to be free. Perhaps all the Latin American republics would be better off inside the United States. Does Vambery want us to annex them? India is a poor, oppressed colony and there is plenty of concrete evidence to show that the British have hampered the economic and educational progress of India. It is wrong to compare the British dominions with India. The dominions are white. The British treat Indians as colored inferiors. The Indians unanimously dislike it.

What right has England to rule India?

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, June 25

Wanted: Good Teachers

Dear Sirs: The teapot tempest stirred by the *New York Times* history survey has so far left the real problem untouched. The contentions of both the *Times* and its critics are partly true, but largely irrelevant. On the one hand, the questions were none too well chosen, and many students obviously spoofed their examiners. On the other, it is indisputable that most college freshmen, and upper-classmen, are grossly ignorant not only of American history but of the whole social structure framed and inhabited by civilized man. But progressive education is not the issue, whatever may be its merits or defects.

Anyone who has seen America's educational system from the inside will not be surprised—and only therefore not appalled—at a report by Drew Middleton in the *New York Times Magazine* for May 2 revealing the provincialism and thoughtlessness of American soldiers in North Africa. Many must be high-school graduates, at least; yet except for some higher officers Mr. Middleton found them not only uninformed but indifferent about the issues for which they fight and die. A vague antipathy toward the

British, until cured by experience, a vague benevolence toward the "lesser breeds" (including the "German people" as somehow mysteriously distinct from the Nazis), an intellectual curiosity satisfied by sports pages and comic strips, a clear-cut desire to beat the enemy physically and then go home and forget the whole thing—this is the mental equipment of America's fighting men. This is the result of our boasted system of education. Obviously it is not the result specifically of ignorance of American history, but quite as obviously it is a related phenomenon.

This phenomenon is doubtless agreeable to the Stone Age mentality of Colonel McCormick and other isolationists. But thoughtful Americans find it ominous and would like to know the cause. Progressive educators blame the rigidity, compartmentalism, emphasis on uninterpreted facts, and use of mechanical drill that are alleged to characterize the traditional system, which, they add, still dominates the nation's schools. Traditionalists blame the lack of discipline, the contempt for the past, the uncritical enthusiasm for abstract ideals and impossible reforms that are supposed to prevail in progressive schools. Specifically, it is charged in the current controversy that there has been a widespread substitution of "social studies" for history; and that the result is usually an indigestible hash of economics, sociology, psychology, and political science—a mélange that not one teacher in a hundred is equipped to teach and not one student in a thousand able to assimilate.

The sad fact is that the charges of each party against the other seem partially valid, while the claim of either to positive achievement remains unproved. I taught for some years at an Eastern college which drew many of its students from the old-line New England preparatory schools and many others from the extreme progressive schools of the Chicago area. Both groups were equally well—or ill—informe; both were equal in intellectual initiative—or lack of it. The truth is that the failure of American education is a failure not in method but in personnel; the lack is not of good teaching but of good teachers.

Of course it would be absurdly unfair to offer a blanket indictment or to imply that most of those who are failing are not doing the best they can. But their

best is obviously not good enough. Why?

First, the country's best minds and most compelling personalities do not go into teaching. There is bitter truth in Shaw's jest: "Those who can, do. Those who can't, teach." The general attitude of college students and professors is that those who cannot meet the competition in medicine or engineering or business administration or scientific research of various sorts can always enter secondary-school teaching. It is a notorious fact that students in teachers' colleges and schools of education are generally inferior mentally to those in other fields. The better students prepare to do things; the poorer students prepare to teach.

The schools and colleges that profess to prepare them can be fairly blamed for partly causing and greatly aggravating this sorry state of affairs. Yet to some extent they can also be excused. Faced with the task of providing an immense number of teachers for a rapidly expanding secondary-school system, overawed by technological triumphs and by the equally formidable if less spectacular achievements of "scholarship," they assumed that there is a comparable technique for teaching and for training teachers; that education is a science and not an art, a technique and not a calling. How was it to be expected that the sponsors of this new "science," themselves mediocre and faced with a vast influx of mediocrities; aware, too, of the distrust or contempt of their academic colleagues, of men of science, and of men of affairs—that they should not seek to conceal and deny, rather than confront and try to deal with, the lack of talent among their students, the lack among themselves of anything to teach? What more natural than that they should take refuge in an unintelligible jargon, in pretensions to scientific measurement and correlation of abstractions and imponderables, in violent attacks on traditional philosophies based on a *qualitative* conception of human life and character?

For the fact is that with all its professed reverence for "personality" the new education regards that personality as essentially a product of machinery. Put prospective teachers through courses in child psychology, mental tests, and teaching "methods"—teach them how to teach!—and our educational problem is solved. It does not matter that all the qualities of character that make for good teaching—tact, tolerance, patience, kindness, self-forgetfulness, a union of common sense with imagination—are stultified rather than stimulated by this me-

chanical approach. It does not matter that the courses in history and literature and genuine science that might help to develop these qualities are crowded out by required courses in "education" that are generally so senseless and futile that the best students refuse to submit to them.

Not that the other college courses are always well taught. The dulness, the pedantry, the smugness, the circumspection, the petty vanity that characterize a shocking proportion of college faculty members in all fields offer little aid or inspiration to students who might be inclined to look on a teaching career as something more than a meal ticket.

The real villain of the piece is of course an unenlightened and indifferent public. While making material wealth our measure of success, we refuse to pay our teachers adequate salaries. While professing to believe in "free enterprise" and the Bill of Rights, we stifle all intellectual enterprise in our teachers by forcing them to conform in word and act to local and often absurd *mores* and political and social creeds—and when we try to protect them, we set up a system of tenure that offers perfect shelter for the dull or idle or uninspired. While priding ourselves on our hard-headed practicality, we have turned over our school system to the guidance of people who believe in the astounding fantasy that education is primarily a matter of method. And finally, fervently desiring for our children a happier and fuller existence in a better world than ours, we set an example in our private lives of selfishness, aimlessness, and triviality and leave entirely to our bewildered and overburdened teachers the task of making from these children informed, alert, altruistic, and morally responsible men and women.

These are a few of the problems facing American education. Compulsory courses in American history will not solve them.

ELSWORTH BARNARD

Alfred, New York, June 10

Voice from the Deep South

Dear Sirs: In a recent issue of your magazine whose name claims a national appeal, you reported the exclamations of a sailor observing the bickerings of the House over the passage of the Mar-antonio Anti-Poll-Tax bill. May I correct the sailor? It's not the Civil War that reoccurs—it's that twelve-year term of Northern barbarism and legislation closely akin to present-day Nazi atroc-

ties and brutal treatment of conquered nations, then known as Reconstruction. Not only was this the bitterest potion ever forced upon a bleeding South and a bondage, tyranny, and exploitation unequaled by the Allied demands at Versailles, but it was a sin and blotch so black that the North ought to have hidden its wicked face when, after the downfall of such vultures as Thaddeus Stevens and that lawless gang whose brothers were at the same time the carpetbaggers down here, its brutality had been realized. No doubt that injustice has never been fully revealed. Yet I leave you these truths to search out in such articles as A. R. Moore's One Hundred Years of Reconstruction in the May issue of the *Journal of Southern History*. Of course you who in your "egocentric sectionalism" consider the North the whole nation will shriek prejudice—but consider your own "narrowisms," first, if you please.

But that is not the main point. The whip that incites any true Southerner to boiling fury is that d— Yankee ignorant howling: "Liberate the poor uneducated masses of blacks and whites from the arrogant heel of lazy Southerners." Bah! Evidently you have been fed on a "wholesome" diet of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," probably the worst-written and most infamous book ever published (by such a person with such romanticism). O ye heavens! If you only knew how we must keep peace as we do! We recognize the problem, and those who are more progressive must strive to balance the passionate hatred of some of our own people for our less fortunate brothers. But, please, let us do it! You don't know—you can never know until you have had to shape from a Yankee-dominated government of seventy years ago a livable and decent social order. Look what you gave us to build from! Everything—our homes, our fortunes, if any—in ruins; our social order convulsed into a madman's inferno. Only when you who have not lived here understand these things by experience will you be more considerate.

Let us now play "Dixie"!

J. W. SMITH, JR.

Clarksdale, Miss., June 10

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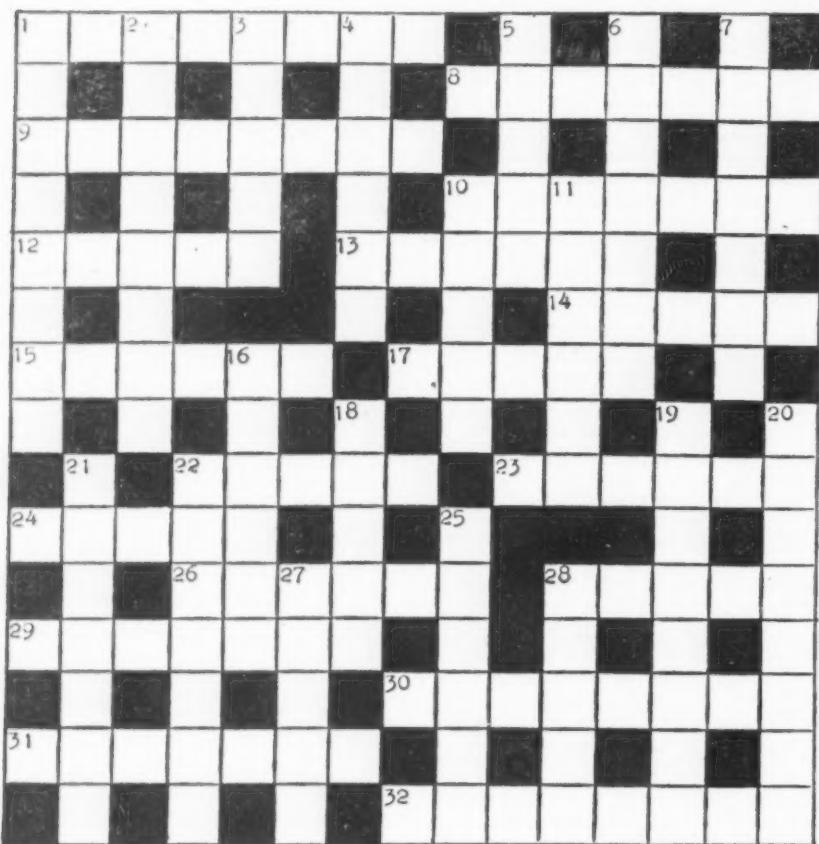
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Cross-Word Puzzle No. 20

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Do they cause a man to weigh his words?
- 8 It is not what it was since Japan entered the war
- 9 European who upsets one saint
- 10 Our coasts are suffering from it
- 12 Truly this is difficult for the inebriate to say
- 13 Here you get very wise in stages
- 14 Turkish decree, I dare say
- 15 The man behind the gun
- 17 Fight between me and an American general
- 22 Every rag on your back hides this
- 23 Attack a donkey and suffer
- 24 Invariably produces an effect
- 26 The poet's lamentation, but the lawyer's charge
- 28 This fight sounds rather like peace
- 29 Was the lecturer who lost his speech suffering from this?
- 30 Same again—it's good for the digestion
- 31 What panaceas cure (two words, 3 and 4)
- 32 Part of a house as is set in cement

DOWN

- 1 Beast and era convey one way to go abroad
- 2 This is not pushful and I'm accustomed to it about eleven
- 3 Punitive
- 4 L-shaped recess? Let it pass
- 5 Pearl's mother in the middle of an eleven-acre field

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 19

ACROSS:—1 CAULIFLOWER; 9 HAIR; 10 NURSE; 11 DARN; 12 GONE BAD; 13 AS-
CRIBE; 15 NEW BROOM; 16 AVERSE; 18 MUSEUM; 21 SASH CORD; 24 ELECTRO; 26 LUMP SUM; 28 EGAD; 29 INAPT; 30 ITEM;
31 AT A LOOSE END.

DOWN:—2 AGREEABLE; 3 LONG AGO; 4 FORT; 5 OVERSEA; 6 EIIDER; 7 TAGORE;
8 EREBUS; 14 SMASH; 17 EXCEPTION; 19 ULLAGE; 20 MARTIAL; 22 SCUTTLE; 23 ROUSED; 25 CADET; 27 CATO.

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